

LEOPOLDUS D.G. Romanorum Imperator
sem: Augustus: Rex Hungariæ, Bohemiæ
Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ Sclavoniæ Archi Dux Austriæ &c



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THE ESTATE OF THE EMPIRE: OR, An Abridgement of the LAWS and GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY.

By *Lewis Du-May* Knight, *Sieur de Sallettes*, Counsellor to his Highness of *Wirtemberg*.

Translated into *French* by *D' Alexis* Esq; Doctor of Laws, and Advocate in Parliament.

Now faithfully rendred into English.

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Sereniſſimus, Potentiſſimus & Invictiſſimus Princeps & Dominus, Dominus Leopoldus, Divinâ favente Clementiâ, Romanorum Imperator ſemper Auguſtus, Germaniæ, Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, Sclavoniæ Rex, Archidux Auſtriæ, Dux Burgundiæ, Brabantiæ, Stiriæ, Carinthiæ, Carniolæ & Wirtembergæ, Marchio Moraviæ, Dux Lucemburgiæ, Superioris & Inferioris Sileſiæ, Comes Hapſpurgi & Tyrolis, &c.

The ENGLISH TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

Reader,

THis Book is a Traveller, as the Prince for whoſe ſake the Author compoſed it. It was born in *Germany*; from whence it paſſed into *France*, where it was kindly received, and Naturalized: Now being arrived into *England*, and finding ſome private welcome, it deſires at leaſt to be a Denizen here. What it contains, will briefly appear in the following Summary of the Dialogues; But why I undertook to render it into Engliſh, beſides the entertainment of ſome of my vacant hours, I have little to juſtifie my ſelf, but the zeal which every Chriſtian ſhould have at this time, to arm himſelf with the beſt weapons he hath, to oppoſe the Barbarous proceedings of a proud and implacable Enemy. My Maga-

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zin and Artillery extends to no more than Pen and Ink; with which I vainly fanſied I might ſeem to do ſomething; As when the induſtrious and judicious Mr. *Dugdale Norroy* King of Arms, perceiving that ſlow-paced ruine, or (which was worſe) haſty impiety had ſhaken moſt of the ſacred ſtructures in this Kingdom, and threatned all the reſt, thought it a provident (but we may juſtly call it a generous and meritorious) work, to ſave them in *Effigie*, and keep up both their Memory and Models in exact braſs Cuts, adding his own profound Reſearches and elaborate Diſcourſes, which are indeed ------*Monumentum ære perennius*; ſo (though the compariſon fall infinitely ſhort in moſt things) there being now too much reaſon to apprehend, that the dreadful inundation of the Mahometans (without almoſt a miracle) is ready to overwhelm the State, Government, Laws, and Princes of *Germany*, nay, *to take away both their place and Nation*, I conceived it both pious and ſeaſonable, as far as lay in me, to reſcue that noble Country from oblivion, by publiſhing this ſmall Treatiſe in *Engliſh*, wherein the marks and footſteps of that Empire may remain amongſt us. Thou wilt find it to be a Tranſlation (if the Title-page had not confeſt it) with that uſual and unavoidable imperfection, that notions paſſing out of one Language into another do, as it happens in the transfuſion of liquors into divers veſſels, carry much dregs along with them, and al-

ways taſte of the Cask. I may perchance be blamed with reaſon enough for following the word too cloſe, yet I think I may ſafely ſay in general I have not gone far from the ſenſe. But certainly if I had put it into finer Language and more elegant expreſſions, the work had been ſo far mine, and ſo much worſe. That, for the ſtyle; as for the matter, I give thee that frank Verſe of the Poet in Engliſh,

———*If better things be known to thee,*
Kindly impart; if not, uſe theſe with me.

A Sum-

A Summary of the Dialogues.

THis Treatiſe contains ten Dialogues between a Prince and his Governour, who teaches him all that there is conſiderable in the Empire: For this Book comprehends in brief all that the Doctors of Law and the Interpreters of the Golden Bull have written thereupon; as may be ſeen in the reading of it.

I. Dialogue.

This Dialogue ſerves for an Introduction to the reſt, and the Governor having ſhown his young Prince, that he ſhould learn to be a good Chriſtian, before he learn to be a good Prince; makes him underſtand, that it is neceſſary for him to go out of his Fathers Court, and travel through Foreign Countries, as a means to become ſuch. Here it is diſcourſed at large of certain Travellers that learn nothing but the worſt faſhions and cuſtoms of other Nations. Then he ſhews the advantage of Travelling with judgment, and in company of ſuch as know what is requiſite to be obſerved in every part of Europe. *After that, he makes it appear, that it is eaſie to become a wiſe Counſellor and an able Souldier by Travelling; wherein a man learns to know the humour of people, and the Languages. Hereupon he ſpeaks of the corruption of Languages, the cauſe thereof, and other*

other curious notions. Laſtly, he maketh his German *Prince underſtand that he ought to know the* French *and* Italian *Tongues; and that, without buſying himſelf upon Sciences that have more vanity than ſolidity, he ſhould learn the Art of Governing well, and conſequently the Eſtate of the Empire, which contains almoſt all that a Prince ought to know.*

II. Dialogue.

This Dialogue contains the Eſtate of the Empire in general; and therein is ſhown, that the Emperour is a Monarch, though he have not an abſolute power to do all that he pleaſes, foraſmuch as the Princes of Germany *acknowledge that all their Dignity is communicated to them by and from him. He can create Kings, Arch-Dukes,* &c. *but cannot confer Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and why.*

In the beginning of this Dialogue the Author ſays, that his Book ſhall treat of the Head and principal Members of the Empire; of their Power and Authority; of the Origine, Progreſs, and Alliances of the Illuſtrious Houſes; of the Rank and Place they hold in the Aſſemblies; of the Branches of every Family; of the Cauſes of Love, Hatred, and Jealouſie amongſt them, &c. *After that, he proves that the Eſtate of the Empire is Monarchical, and confuting the contrary opinions, he eſtabliſhes his own. And becauſe the Emperour*

Emperour hath not right to confer Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, he renders the reaſon thereof; and makes it clear, that notwithſtanding all that, he is the firſt Monarch in the World. And foraſmuch as he is made ſo by Election, the Author ſpeaks of the Electors, their beginning, their power, their order, and their number; and ſhewing what neceſſity there was to increaſe the laſt, he brings the reaſons which the Ancients had to raiſe to that Dignity, three Eccleſiaſtical, and four Secular Princes, who have power to create and depoſe the Emperour, and the King of the Romans. *Then he ſpeaks of the Ceremonies uſed at their Coronation, and of the power both of the one and the other.*

III. Dialogue.

In this Dialogue he ſpeaks of the Eſtates of the Empire; and having ſhown that thoſe which are ſo, have many rights of Regality, he paſſes to the conſideration of the Houſe of Auſtria, *diſcovers its Original, how long it hath born the Imperial Crown, into how many Branches it is divided, how it came to be ſo powerful, and what are its Priviledges. After that, he diſcourſes of the* Palatine, Saxon, *and* Brandenbourg *Houſes; and ſays all that the curious can deſire to know about them.*

IV,

A Summary of

IV, V. Dialogues.

In theſe two Dialogues he treats of all the Secular Princes of the Empire, and of every Houſe in particular, aſſuring the curious they ſhall there find wherewithal to ſatisfie themſelves in their ſearch after the Antiquity, Deſcendancies, Rights, Rank, Titles, Alliances, and Branches of the Houſes of Brunſwick, Meklebourg, Wirtemberg, Heſſe, Baden, Holſtein, Saxon-Lowembourg, Anhalt, Hohenzolleren, Aremberg, Henneberg, *and* Eaſt Friſeland; *in like manner as they ſaw the greatneſs of the Electoral Houſes in the preceding Dialogues. And all along where occaſion offers any Political queſtion, he reſolves it briefly; not forgetting the praiſes of men of Merit, of Univerſities, and of Colledges, which are very many in* Germany. *And becauſe it is almoſt impoſſible but there ſhould be ſome jealouſie, hatred or envy between ſo many Houſes of equal condition, he lays down the cauſes thereof; and ſhews how thoſe that precede by turns, take their place; and how many voices they have in the Diets of the Empire; who ought to inherit thoſe Houſes, in caſe they come to be totally extinguiſhed; in what Houſes there is right of Primogeniture, and what Religion they profeſs.*

VI. Dia-

VI. Dialogue.

This Dialogue will give you a perfect knowledge of the Eccleſiaſtical Princes of Germany; *wherein he ſhews how many there were in former times, and how many there are now, as well* Biſhops, Abbots, Abbeſſes, *as other Eccleſiaſtical Prelates. How many Orders of Knighthood, what power they have, and what obſervance they are under. And becauſe ordinarily ſome Churchman is Director of the Circles of the Empire, he ſpeaks of the Directors of all the Circles; then he diſcourſes of every Biſhoprick in particular: And afterwards he paſſes to the* Abbots, *and to the Original of the Teutonique Knights; how they became ſo potent, and how they have loſt thoſe great Provinces they had acquired. After that, he ſhews how the Prelates are become ſo rich; how they obtain their Dignities, which he makes appear not to be after the ſame manner now as anciently.*

VII. Dialogue.

Here he ſpeaks of the Counts and Barons of the Empire; and the word Count, called Graff *in Dutch, gives occaſion to inquire into the Origine of* Palſgrave, Margrave, Landgrave, *and* Burgrave, *and to know how many there be, when, and*

and how they became great ; from whence the Title of Archduke came : and whether the dignity of a Duke was always more illuſtrious than that of a Count : He proves that there are ſeveral ſorts of Dukes and Counts, and confutes the opinion of thoſe that hold, an Emperour ſhould have four Kings under him, a King four Dukes, a Duke four Counts, a Count four Barons, and a Baron four Caſtellans. The Counts were anciently no more than Judges ; and he ſhews how, and at what time they got the inheritance, and became Lords of their Counties. At preſent thoſe of the Empire have place and voice in the Diets, are almoſt equal to the Princes, and many of them coyn money. He ſpeaks of the Houſes of Naſſau, Hohenzolleren, Furſtemberg, *and of many others in particular ; and then he paſſes to the Barons, who differ not from the Counts but in name, and ſets down a Catalogue of them : Then having diſtinguiſhed them from thoſe which the Emperour creates in his Hereditary Provinces, he ends this Dialogue with a touch upon the new Barons, who would have the ſame title that the old ones have.*

VIII. Dialogue.

Here will be ſeen the difference between a Knight and a Gentleman, and between Knights among themſelves. There are four kinds of them in Germany, *where the Gentlemen are ſeparated from the Body of the Lords, and are not admitted into*

into the Eſtates of the Empire, though many of them hold immediately of the Emperour; and they are thoſe only of Swaben, Franconia, *the* Rhine, *and Lower* Alſatia, *who obſerve a kind of Ariſtocratical Republique among themſelves, whereof he ſpeaks at large, as alſo of their Order and their Priviledges: Then he paſſes to the Gentlemen Subjects, and becauſe they prove their Antiquity by the Turnaments wherein they appeared as Parties, he ſpeaks of Turnaments, and the Laws therein obſerved heretofore, and at what time, and by whom they were brought into* Germany, *by whom called together, and in what place: From whence he takes occaſion to diſcourſe of the Cities, their beginning, their beauty, their priviledges, and their incredible power: Then he tells what each Imperial City hath moſt conſiderable, and how they preſerve their liberty.*

IX. Dialogue.

In this Dialogue he ſpeaks of the Univerſities of Germany, *of their foundation, their number, and their uſefulneſs. Then he paſſes to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and ſhews how it was adminiſtred in the time of the firſt Emperours, and how it is at this preſent: at what time the Parliament or Chamber of Soveraign Juſtice was made ſedentary, of how many perſons it is compoſed, of what quality they ought to be, and of what matters they take cognizance. After that,*

he diſcourſes at large of the Diets, of him that hath the power to call them together, after what manner he doth it, who are the perſons that he calls thither, who they be that ought to come, when, and whither they are to be ſummoned, and of the rank which the Electors, Princes, Lords, and Cities hold, when the Emperour preſides there; how ſuffrages are given; and laſtly, in what manner Concluſions are reſolved on, with all that can be deſired upon this ſubject.

X. Dialogue.

Here is an abridgment of the laſt Wars of Germany, *which ſhews in what condition the Empire was when the Peace was concluded: where may be ſeen the Confederates of both Parties, and the Battels and Encounters of Armies briefly ſet down, with the advantage which each Party had therein. After which the Peace was made; where he ſpeaks of the ſatisfaction which the Confederates obtained, and of the Troops that remain in* Germany *ſtill. Then he adds a word of the* Golden Bull, *which contains the fundamental Laws of the Empire.*

THE

THE STATE OF THE EMPIRE, OR An Abridgement of the Government OF GERMANY.

Cast into Dialogues for the easier accommodation of a young Prince, who was instructed therein by his Governour.

DIALOGUE I.

That it is requisite for German *Princes to travel, and to learn the* French *and* Italian *Languages, and the State of the Empire.*

Prince. *HAving already suckt in the milk of piety, and learnt, that a Christian Prince ought evermore to have before his eyes the fear of God, the salvation of his Soul, the good of his Subjects, and the honour of his House; I feel my self touched with an emulous desire to equal my ancestors; and to that purpose I would willingly*

lingly joyn Political and Military knowledge with moral and Chriſtian vertues. But conſidering that life is ſhort, and that I muſt know many things to attain the end I aim at, I ſhould loſe all hope of being able to arrive there, if I were not aſſured that you will level and ſmooth the difficulties that may occur to me in the way. Oblige me then, by finding out ſome new method, and leading me by a ſhort cut to the perfection I wiſh for.

Governour. All men, and Princes eſpecially, being born to do good unto many, I am glad to underſtand you are ſo deſirous to learn the means; and that in imitation of your Progenitors you will couple warlike and peaceable vertues together, to know at all times how to ſerve the Empire, to rule your own State, to protect your Subjects, to honour the good, and chaſtiſe the wicked. Though then life be ſhort, and the perfection you purſue not eaſie to be met with at Court, where every thing ſeems to ſtand in oppoſition againſt your laudable deſign; yet if you have a deſire to equal your Predeceſſors, and the courage to overcome thoſe difficulties that may offer themſelves, I ſhall willingly contribute thereunto with my uttermoſt induſtry; and endeavour to ſhew you how much I eſteem your reſolution. Do me the favour only to change the pleaſures of the body into thoſe of the mind, and to ſeek your ſole content in the acquiſition of thoſe things which may raiſe you above other noble perſons of your age and quality.

P. *You have no more to do, but to ſet me down the rules, you would have me obſerve; for the choice which my Lord and Father hath made of your perſon to be the guide and director of mine, and the knowledge I have of your vertue, have made me reſolve to ſubmit my will to yours; and I give you my word, that nothing ſhall be able to withdraw me from the reſolution I have taken to obey your orders exactly, and to do all that you ſhall think good and conducible to my progreſs therein.*

G. Your generous diſpoſition doth not ſuffer me to queſtion that which you promiſe me; and for my part I am ready to lay out all that I can and all that I know for your advantage. Now foraſmuch as forain languages ſerve for an ornament to perſons of your condition, I am of opinion that you ſhould learn them.

P. *Your will ſhall be my law in any thing; but if it be poſſible, make me learn things with languages, which are but their inſtruments and conveyances.*

G. I mean ſo; and I judge it neceſſary that you ſhould learn to diſcourſe in Latine, French, Italian and Dutch, of every thing that Europe affords the moſt conſiderable.

P. *I believe it is impoſſible to learn what you would have me, without travelling; and oftentimes travelling inſtructs us but little, or to become worſe than we went out, at the charges both of the ſouls and bodies health too.*

G. Few men have reaped the fruit that was

hoped of their travel, becauſe there are not many that travel with judgement. Many travellers returning to their own homes bring back from abroad the affected delicacie of the Engliſh, the variable modiſhneſs of the French, the dangerous diſſimulation of the Italians, and the unſufferable pride of the Spaniards. Some others who think they have ſpent their time very well, tell you, they have taken notice in *England* of the magnificence of *London*, the conveniency of the *Thames*, and the beauty of *Whitehall*: that in *France* they admired the throngs of *Paris*, the ſumptuouſneſs of *Fontaine-bleau*, and the Majeſty of St. *Denys*: that in *Italy* they conſidered the wonders of *Venice*, the curioſity of *Belveder*, and the Nobility of *Naples*: that in *Spain* they have ſeen the Traffick of *Seville*, the greatneſs of *Lisbon*, and the admirable ſtructure of the *Eſcurial*. Some come back loaden with ribbons upon their clothes, cuffs at their legs, and towels about their necks. Others return ſtuft with a falſe opinion of knowledge in their fancy, an aiery imagination of wiſdom in their underſtanding, and all kind of vanity in their memory.

P. *Were it not better that ſuch men ſhould ſtay at home, than wander about the world to learn nothing but to become dunces?*

G. Such perſons doubtleſs would do more adviſedly to remain in their villages, than to go abroad. Doing ſo, a man may be ignorant without ſerving an apprentiſhip to it: and there is

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leſs diſhonour in knowing nothing, when one doth not take himſelf to be an able man, than to fancy much after having ſeen the World, and yet not be able to open his mouth, without being ridiculous to all the company. But all this ſhould not perſwade you that travelling is uſeleſs. Wine is not bad but to thoſe that miſ-uſe it; and Fire burns none but the unwary: it is even ſo of Travel; it embelliſheth the minds of thoſe that uſe it prudently, and ſerves like glue to faſten thoſe in vice who haunt vicious company. The Traveller ſhould make virtue his aim, and having learnt to underſtand Nations, he ſhould imitate what they have of good, and eſchew all the reſt.

P. *I have always thought till now, that they who can diſcourſe pertinently of all they have ſeen in their Travels, have employed their time very well abroad.*

G. It is mere caſting away a mans time, his pains, and his expence, to learn only to talk of the Temples of *Rome*, the Bridges of *Paris*, the Arſenal of *Venice*, the Frigats of *England*, the Chanels of *Holland*, the Perſpective of *Ruel*, and the Volerie of *Fontaine-Bleau*. The Prince that Travels ſhould heedfully regard the Laws and Fundamental Maxims of States, the Revenew of Principalities, the inclination of Soveraigns, the order of their Court, their Alliances, their Power, their Favorites, and the Reception which they give one another. In a word, Heroes ſhould learn Heroical Sciences, and the

care of a King ſhould be to Reign well.

P. *By Heroical Sciences, do you mean the Treatiſe of Arms and Heraldry, to which the Author thereof* Sieur de la Colombiere *gives that Title?*

G. That Treatiſe is well worth the reading, but it contains not that which I call an Heroical Science. By thoſe Sciences I underſtand all that leads Princes on to Immortality; for example, the Art of ſubduing ones ſelf, and of conquering his Enemy; the Mathematicks, and the Art Military, which teaches them to fortify places, to lodge Armies advantagiouſly, to draw up a Body in Battalia, to lead them on in a Fight, and to ſhew themſelves eminent examples to their followers, both by their quickneſs of Spirit and ſtrength of Body.

P. *Are thoſe things to be learnt by Traveling?*

G. Travelling lays the ſeed of thoſe virtues in our hearts, which prick us forward to the purſuit of Immortality. For he that hath ſeen *Europe* with judgment, knows at his return every thing that can carry him on to Glorious Actions; he underſtands the Intereſt of all Princes; he ſees what danger *Italy* is in by having one or more Enemies, and judges of the remedy that may be applied to it; he comprehends the ways of maintaining the liberty of *Germany*; and when he comes into a Counſel, it muſt be acknowledged by thoſe that hear him diſcourſe, that he hath profited more in a Travel

of

of two years, than if he had ſtayed ten in his Study.

P. *I might eaſily confeſs to you, that the converſation of ſeveral perſons increaſeth prudence; but I do not perceive how the ſeeing of Forain Countreys can make us able Souldiers.*

G. Travel teacheth us to underſtand the plenty of Countreys, the Fords of Rivers, the conveniency of Bridges, the diſtance of places, the ſtrength of Cities, the number of the people, the inclination of the Subjects, the humour of Princes, the Sympathy and Antipathy of Nations, and many other things, which may inſtruct a General of an Army and a Counſellor of State, giving them particular advantages. Travel doth alſo give us leſſons of Temperance, Modeſty, Patience, and the Languages, which are uſeful to all men, but neceſſary to thoſe who would have any Command in Armies.

P. *Languages are ſo neceſſary to perſons of Command, that our Anceſtors would advance no man to the Imperial Dignity, that was not able to ſpeak* Latin, Italian, Sclavonian, *and* Dutch. *And the Emperour* Frederick *II. beſides theſe advantages could ſpeak elegant* French, Spaniſh, *and* Turkiſh; *and, which was very rare in his time, he was skill'd in the Ancient and vulgar* Greek.

G. The Emperour *Frederick* the ſecond of that name, and the laſt of the Houſe of *Suevia* or *Swaben*, with whom the Majeſty of the Empire was buried for many years, was both Va-

liant and Learned; and if you employ your excellent natural endowments well, you will become ſo too: you have a good Judgment, a happy Memory, a ſound Body, and a Vigorous Complexion.

P. *I am, God be thanked, of a ſtrong Temper; and I retain long enough what I have once learnt. But why is it neceſſary to learn ſo many Languages, if* Latin *be ſufficient to hold conference with Strangers, and* Dutch *to employ my cares upon the good of the affairs of the Empire, and the adminiſtration of my Fathers States, if God give me the grace to come to the Government?*

G. I know that the *Latin* and *Dutch* Languages may ſerve your turn, and that a Prince may Reign piouſly, juſtly, and religiouſly, without the knowledge of Forain Tongues. Nay I know one, who is even the Tutelar Angel of his Subjects, and who without having learnt either *Latin* or *French*, governs his State in the fear of God, and without oppreſſing any man hath paid his debts, and built a Caſtle of a marvellous bigneſs; while others, more knowing than he, have brought Poverty upon their Subjects, and left it to their own Children. But the intercourſe of buſineſs, which we have with Strangers ſuffers us not to neglect their Languages, without the hazard of incurring ſome inconvenience thereby.

P. *I underſtand by what you ſaid laſt, that one may be a good Prince, though he have not ſtudied;*

died; and yet that you would have me to poſſeſs a reaſonable knowledge of Forein Languages, that I may not ſtand in need of an Interpreter to deal with other Potentates, that have affairs in Germany, *or Lands lying within the limits of the Empire: which would oblige me as well to underſtand* Swediſh *and* Spaniſh, *as* French *and* Italian; *ſeeing the Crown of* Sweden *poſſeſſeth a good part of the Lower* Saxony, *and that of* Spain *more than half of the* Netherlands.

G. It were good to know the Languages you mention; but being it is impoſſible to maſter them all, one ſhould endeavour to learn the moſt neceſſary. *Spaniſh* is the nobleſt of all the baſtard Languages, and I know never a one of them that pleaſeth me more; but the King of *Spain* making uſe of *Burgundians* to treat with us, and *Dutch* being no leſs common amongſt the better ſort of *Swedes* than the *Swediſh* it ſelf, methinks one may better want the *Swediſh* and *Spaniſh*, than the *French* and *Italian* Languages.

P. *Why do you call* Spaniſh *a baſtard Language?*

G. I call it ſo, becauſe it is not a Mother Tongue, but compounded of the *Latin*, *Gothick*, *Arabick*, and old *Spaniſh*; for the *Romans*, the *Goths*, and the *Moors*, having Reigned many ages in *Spain*, introduced a mixture of all thoſe Languages.

P. *If mixture only be enough to baſtardize a Language, there are but few Legitimate; for there*

liant and Learned; and if you employ your excellent natural endowments well, you will become ſo too: you have a good Judgment, a happy Memory, a ſound Body, and a Vigorous Complexion.

P. *I am, God be thanked, of a ſtrong Temper; and I retain long enough what I have once learnt. But why is it neceſſary to learn ſo many Languages, if* Latin *be ſufficient to hold conference with Strangers, and* Dutch *to employ my cares upon the good of the affairs of the Empire, and the adminiſtration of my Fathers States, if God give me the grace to come to the Government?*

G. I know that the *Latin* and *Dutch* Languages may ſerve your turn, and that a Prince may Reign piouſly, juſtly, and religiouſly, without the knowledge of Forain Tongues. Nay I know one, who is even the Tutelar Angel of his Subjects, and who without having learnt either *Latin* or *French*, governs his State in the fear of God, and without oppreſſing any man hath paid his debts, and built a Caſtle of a marvellous bigneſs; while others, more knowing than he, have brought Poverty upon their Subjects, and left it to their own Children. But the intercourſe of buſineſs, which we have with Strangers ſuffers us not to neglect their Languages, without the hazard of incurring ſome inconvenience thereby.

P. *I underſtand by what you ſaid laſt, that one may be a good Prince, though he have not ſtu-*

died;

died; and yet that you would have me to poſſeſs a reaſonable knowledge of Forein Languages, that I may not ſtand in need of an Interpreter to deal with other Potentates, that have affairs in Germany, *or Lands lying within the limits of the Empire: which would oblige me as well to underſtand* Swediſh *and* Spaniſh, *as* French *and* Italian; *ſeeing the Crown of* Sweden *poſſeſſeth a good part of the Lower* Saxony, *and that of* Spain *more than half of the* Netherlands.

G. It were good to know the Languages you mention; but being it is impoſſible to maſter them all, one ſhould endeavour to learn the moſt neceſſary. *Spaniſh* is the nobleſt of all the baſtard Languages, and I know never a one of them that pleaſeth me more; but the King of *Spain* making uſe of *Burgundians* to treat with us, and *Dutch* being no leſs common amongſt the better ſort of *Swedes* than the *Swediſh* it ſelf, methinks one may better want the *Swediſh* and *Spaniſh*, than the *French* and *Italian* Languages.

P. *Why do you call* Spaniſh *a baſtard Language?*

G. I call it ſo, becauſe it is not a Mother Tongue, but compounded of the *Latin*, *Gothick*, *Arabick*, and old *Spaniſh*; for the *Romans*, the *Goths*, and the *Moors*, having Reigned many ages in *Spain*, introduced a mixture of all thoſe Languages.

P. *If mixture only be enough to baſtardize a Language, there are but few Legitimate; for there*

there be many Greek words found in the Latin, *and many* Latin *and* French *in our* Dutch. *And queſtionleſs it is for this cauſe, that* Lewis *Prince of* Anhalt *obliged thoſe of the Fructifying Company, or the Society of good Wits, to avoid that medley with all poſſible care.*

G. Greek words that are found in the *Latin* Tongue, or Forain terms, which vanity rather than neceſſity hath introduced into ours, do not qualify them to be of the ſame nature with the *Spaniſh*. The *Romans* and the *Germans* have admitted thoſe ſtranger words by way of wantonneſs, and may do well enough without them, if they will; on the contrary, the *Spaniards* have ſo few of their own, that if they ſhould reſtore to the *Latines* and *Arabians* what they have ſtollen from them, they would no longer be able to expreſs their conceptions, but would remain as deſtitute of words, as *Horace*'s Jackdaw ſaw her ſelf ſtript of feathers, when every bird had reſumed his own.

P. *Is* French *in any better condition? and can it well paſs without thoſe* Latin *terms which the* Romans *brought in while they held the* Gauls *under their juriſdiction?*

G. I do not think it is, being certainly perſwaded that all Nations, which have long been under obedience to Strangers, have loſt the purity of their ancient Languages. So that we have more reaſon to wonder that the *French* brought ſo few *Dutch* words into *Gaul*, when they laid the foundation of a flouriſhing Kingdom

dom there, than that the *French* Language is half *Latin*.

P. *Were the* Gauls *ever ſubject to a* German *power?*

G. Yes; for all Hiſtorians do unanimouſly agree, that *Pharamond* the firſt King of *France* was Duke of *Franconia*; that he extended his Empire all along the *Rhine*; that *Clodius* his Son proceeded as far as *Cambray*, and that *Merovée* his Grandchild ſetled his Royal Seat in *Paris*; from whence *Clovis* the great brought *Burgundy* under his Dominion, and forced the *Goths* to forſake thoſe parts of *Gaul* about *Narbon*. Afterwards his ſucceſſors degenerating from his virtue, and leaving the management of affairs to the Maiors or Stewards of their Palace, *Charles Martel* (who preſerved Chriſtendom by the victory he obtained at *Tours*) gave ſo much reputation to his Son *Pepin*, that he eaſily ſeated himſelf upon his maſters Throne, having thruſt *Childerick* the Lazy into a Monaſtery.

P. *Therefore Princes ought to take ſpecial heed, that their ſervants make not themſelves great at the expence of their maſters Honour and authority; for a Prince without authority is like a head without eyes, or a body without a Soul.*

G. Authority is the ſoul of Government, and the reputation of a Prince is the ſupport of his State: without theſe things there is nothing to be ſeen but contempt, diſobedience and rebellion. The moſt moderate ſeeing their Prince devoid

void of theſe good qualities, deſire that he may obtain them; the moſt Religious pray God to give him them; the moſt couragious grumble; and the moſt ſeditious loſing all reſpect talk of putting another into his place. The unfortunate life and death of *Henry* the Third King of *France*, are unqueſtionable evidences of this truth.

P. *How ſhould one do to gain authority and reputation?*

G. Authority depends upon reputation; for the people believing that their Prince is valiant, liberal, and prudent, doth readily obey his will, and receive his Commands with reſpect, honour and reverence. Now to gain the reputation of a prudent Prince, he ſhould be very careful that his ſervants and Miniſters be friends to the publick good, affable, modeſt and generous: To be eſteemed valiant, it is ſufficient that he ſhew a conſtant reſolution to maintain his People in their ancient Splendor, even at the expence of his life; that adverſity caſt him not down, nor proſperity make him inſolent: And to give a fairer luſtre to his liberality, he ſhould take care that the little he beſtowes, ariſe not out of the oppreſſion of his People. If it be thus indeed, then without being preſent every day at Councel, with out drawing his ſword, or giving much, his Subjects, his Friends, and his Enemies too, will eſteem him valiant, liberal, and prudent, and all of them fearing to offend him, will pay him the duties of Subjects

jects, Friends, and Neighbours.

P. *A Prince that carries true piety in his heart, and all Christian virtues in his Soul, needs not doubt but God will dissipate and disappoint all the evil designs of his mutinous Subjects, and ambitious Neighbours. But what Countrey-man was* Pepin?

G. It is generally said that he was originally a *German*; nay, many think that *Charlemagne* his son was born near the *Rhine*: *John de Serres* in his Inventory of the History of *France*, *Tom.* 1. *pag.* 315. says, he was born at *Worms*, crowned at *Spire*, and buried at *Aix*; and in *pag.* 324. of the same Tome, he says, he was buried at *Aix*, where he was born. How ever it be, they were both of them Kings of *France*, and the latter won so much renown by preserving the Church of *Rome*, and defending the Pope, who was unjustly assailed by *Desiderius* King of *Lombardy*, that the Pope, the Senate and people of *Rome* proclaimed him Emperour in the year of of our Lord 800.

P. *I thought it was Pope* Leo *III. only that divided the Empire, and gave the Western part, with the name of Emperour, to* Charlemagne, *when he made him Advocate of the Holy See.*

G. The Popes labour to perswade us so, and would have it believed that the Crowns of *Lombardy* and *Rome* are essential to the Imperial dignity; saying, that the Emperour becomes King of *Germany* by the election which the Princes

Princes make of his perſon, but acquires the name of Emperour, *Ceſar*, and *Auguſtus*, by the conſecration and approbation which he receives from the Pope: But this opinion of the Popes, and of ſome writers their Votaries, is ridiculous; otherwiſe the Heathen Emperours would not have been lawful Emperours; and thoſe profeſſing Chriſtianity, who reſided at *Conſtantinople* ſince *Conſtantine* the Great until *Conſtantine Paleologus*, nay, thoſe of *Germany* ſince *Ferdinand* the Firſt till this very day, would have been Uſurpers, having been Crowned neither at *Milan* nor *Rome*; which cannot be ſaid without the guilt of High Treaſon. From whence you ought to conclude, that the Emperours are ſo by the Grace of God, without being any way beholden for it to the ſee of *Rome*.

P. *Did the poſterity of* Charlemagne *keep poſſeſſion of the Empire and the Kingdom of* France *for any long time?*

G. It held the Empire and *France* together not very long: for the children of *Lewis* the *Debonaire* ſharing their Fathers Eſtates, that diviſion weakned the Houſe, occaſioned Wars between the brethren, and was the cauſe that his Grandchildren loſt the Empire in the year 912. and the Kingdom of *France* in the year 987. at which time *Hugh Capet* made *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine* Uncle by the Fathers ſide to *Lewis* the fifth to be declared unworthy to ſucceed to the Crown of his Progenitors, becauſe he had

had done homage to *Germany* for his Dutchy. So the race of *Charles* the Great, to whom all Christendom doth owe so much, fell totally from their greatness, and made room in *Germany* for the *Saxons*, and in *France* for the *Capetians*, who set up the Empire and *France* again in their first lustre.

P. *Was* Hugh Capet *a Frenchman?*

G. He was born in *France*, but a *Saxon* by extraction; for *Charlemagne* coming to an agreement with *Witikind* of *Saxony* after a long and bloody War, took one of *Witikinds* sons into *France* with him, and did so much for him, that his successors raised themselves with ease to the highest Offices of State; and at length *Hugh Capet* put the Crown upon his own head, and transmitted it to his descendents, who enjoy it still with more happiness and authority than their predecessors did.

P. *I learn by what you tell me that all the Kings who have reigned in* France *since* Pharamond, *came out of* Germany; *and I am glad to understand so much, because it is an honour for our Nation, to have given Kings unto so considerable a part of* Europe. *But methinks this discourse draws us much off of our mark; and being to speak of Languages, and of the place where they should be learnt, we allow that subject the least share of our thoughts.*

G. It is true indeed, that we make long digressions, but they bring us nearer to the end we aim at; for the best way to learn Languages,

ges, is to ſpeak and diſcourſe with thoſe that have the reputation of ſpeaking well.

P. *Do not all Frenchmen and Italians ſpeak their own native Language well?*

G. There are Provinces in *France* and *Italy* where you meet with few perſons that ſpeak French or Italian purely; and never a one where the vulgar hath not ſome terms out of uſe, and rejected by the learned. So that thoſe who travel to learn languages, ſhould take care to make their ſtay in places where the common people have the beſt accent, and the leaſt barbarous phraſes.

P. *Where ſhould* Italian *be learnt?*

G. You know that the inundation of people, who, to ſhow the *Romans* that they were not invincible, came at ſeveral times out of *Gaul* and *Germany*, ſo corrupted the Latine in *Italy*, that it degenerated into a language exceedingly mingled. Since that time the great wits, as *Petrarch*, *Boccace*, *Arioſto*, *Taſſo*, *Bembo*, and many others, have ſo cultivated it, that their writings do in no wiſe give place to the elegancy of the Greeks and Latines. Now as Cities are ſome more or leſs ingenious than others, the inhabitants of *Sienna* have ſurpaſſed them all in the ſweetneſs and politeneſs of the Italian tonge; and the Court of *Rome*, which is compoſed of all the reſt, hath brought it to its perfection.

P. *That being ſo, I will ſtay longer at* Sienna *and* Rome, *than in other places.*

G. So

G. So I adviſe you; and you may be ſure not to repent your ſelf; foraſmuch as the people of *Sienna* are highly courteous and friendly to ſtrangers, and *Rome* being the Epitome of the World, there is more to be ſeen there than in any City in *Europe*.

P. Tell me likewiſe, if you pleaſe, which are the Provinces and Cities of France, *where they ſpeak French the beſt?*

G. There is no Province in *France*, where men of knowledge do not expreſs themſelves paſſably well, both in ſpeech and writing; but in many parts of *France* the Natives are forced to learn the words and rules of their language as well as ſtrangers. Therefore if you deſire to know where I think they ſpeak French purely, I ſhall tell you, it is in the Parliament of *Paris*, where the Judges and Advocates ſtudy to utter nothing in publick, but what may diſtinguiſh them from the vulgar; and at Court, where every one ſpeaks excellently well, except ſome, who being willing to pleaſe forain Ladies, bring in a new way of pronunciation, when thoſe Ladies are troubled to pronounce ſome word right.

P. I make no doubt but the Preſidents of Paris, *who are members of the moſt illuſtrious Parliament in the World, expreſs their ſentiments in perfection; and no leſs, that Courtiers endeavour to excel in all things. But is it of abſolute neceſſity for one to continue in* Paris, *or at Court, if he would learn the French language well?*

G. If it were necessary to follow the Court, or abide in *Paris*, to learn to speak French, very few would speak it perfectly, because expenses at *Paris* are so great, and most strangers having been pinched by the late Wars are forced to be good husbands, and be content with a little.

P. *I am more sensible than I would be of the incommodities of the last War, and doubt not but the greatest Lords are forced to retrench their expenses; but seeing it is not possible for me to be long at Court, what City in* France *is the most convenient for my purpose; and in what Province may I spend some time at the easiest rate?*

G. Before the War every thing was cheap throughout all the Kingdom; but now I conceive that as the Provinces lying in the heart of the Countrey feel less incommodity from the Souldiers than those upon the frontiers, so they have greater plenty of provisions, and may afford them better cheap. Thus the Cities that are situate upon the River *Loire* may give you the satisfaction you desire, because the language there is pure, the people civil, and all things at reasonable rates.

P. *The Maps place this River almost in the middle of* France; *and the head thereof rising in the mountains of* Auvergne, *it washes the walls of many fair Cities from* Roane *down to the Ocean Sea, and by a course of above* 150. *leagues passes by* Marsilly, Nevers, Desise, Sully, Orleans

leans, Blois, Amboiſe, Tours, Saumur, Pont-de-Cé, *and* Nantes: *ſo that if you do not ſpecifie the City or Cities which are moſt proper for my deſign, I ſhall believe they are all ſo, and be in perplexity how to make choice of the moſt convenient.*

G. Conſidering your humour, I judge that *Saumur* and *Angers* will ſuit beſt with you; becauſe there are Lords and Gentlemen near thoſe Cities, who will take pleaſure to ſhow you that of hunting, and will alſo furniſh you with Greyhounds, Setting-Dogs, and Water-Spaniels, to courſe the Hare, take Partridge, Quail and wild-Duck.

P. Do they not fly at the Heron too, and the Mag-pie?

G. Yes; but it is not ordinary to meet with Gentlemen in *France* that keep Hawks; and there are few that have not ſome excellent Dogs, both for their pleaſure and their profit. I ſay, for their profit, becauſe you ſhall ſee ſome of them that provide their Kitchin with the game they take themſelves.

P. Do you think a young Lord that deſires to learn ſciences and exerciſes can ſpend any time at hunting?

G. Hunting hath always been the moſt gentile, and the moſt uſeful recreation of Princes; nor was it ever diſeſteemed, but by thoſe that know not the benefit of it. It withdraws great men, either from idleneſs, which is the mother of vices, or from gaming, which is unſuitable

to their condition, ſuch as Dice, and thoſe games whereby much money is loſt, as Prime and Hoc; it makes them ſtrong, active and bold, and teaches them even to fight, and to beat their enemies.

P. *Almoſt all Princes love hunting, and apply themſelves to it with great induſtry, becauſe it is a repreſentation of War.*

G. War and hunting have great reſemblance, and the good huntſman is, or may eaſily become a good Souldier. To ſurprize the Wolf and the Fox, you muſt uſe a certain ſubtlety, which teaches you to lay ambuſhes for your enemies; to take the wild Boar, you ſhould know how to preſent the Boar-ſpear to the beſt advantage, juſt as you do a Pike or a Halbert, when two Bodies of Foot come to puſh a pike; and to ſhoot a Deer and a Hare running, or a Partridge and a Quail flying, you ought to be as good a marks-man as the beſt Fuzillier in an army. Beſides theſe advantages, hunting inures you to endure hunger, thirſt, heat, cold, rain, ſnow, and all the incommodities of the air, without which it is impoſſible to be a good Souldier.

P. *I confeſs that hunting hardens us to labour, and teaches us many things neceſſary for War; but I think I have heard you ſay, that* Louis de Camoes, *the Prince of* Portuguez *Poets, calls hunting* furia loca inſana, *and doth exceedingly vilifie huntſmen.*

G. *Louis de Camoes* is reproved by his Commentator

Commentator for having ſpoken very impertinently of the pleaſure of Kings; and they that would excuſe him, ſay that he ſpeaks of none but thoſe that make it their only profeſſion, and prefer the pleaſures of hunting a Stag, or flying at the Heron, before the ſafety of their Subjects, and their own Honour. However it be, *Camoes* was neither your Maſter nor your Law-giver; and that which he ſaid, ought not to hinder you from laying ambuſhes to take wild beaſts of all ſorts, nor from going a hunting when your mind ſtands in need of relaxation.

P. *You mean then, that after I have ſpent ſome hours at my ſtudy, I ſhould beſtow ſome others upon ſports; becauſe as a Bow ſtanding too long bent, grows weak; ſo the mind when it is too long taken up with contemplation, begins to diſreliſh ſtudy, if it be not refreſhed with ſome Gentleman-like recreation; in the number of which you place Hunting, as one of the moſt agreable to Princes.*

G. It is true, but becauſe youth runs ſo eaſily down the hill towards pleaſures, and that our Nature diſaffects and loaths the occupation of the mind, I would have you hunt as little as poſſibly you can, and that to keep your ſelf in appetite you would prefer Tennis and Fencing before Hunting: for that exerciſe hath ſuch catching baits, and the Princes of your Houſe are ſo vehemently inclined to that kind of pleaſure, that we ſee few of them who

ſet not a greater value upon it than upon their ſtudy.

P. *I confeſs the ſway of my inclination is abſolutely bent to it, and I could more willingly endure the pains of Hunting a whole day, than of ſtudy but two hours. Yet becauſe you think it fit, I will hunt as ſeldom as I can, that I may keep the promiſe I made to you, to follow your counſel in all things.*

G. It is no ſmall comfort to me, to hear that you prefer my advice before your pleaſure; but I am ſorry that you call and eſteem that a Labour which is nothing but pure delight. Study would be a ſenſual pleaſure, if the mind were capable of any. They that have once taſted it, can never take themſelves off again; and oftentimes it engages thoſe who are born for action, to give themſelves over to contemplation in ſuch manner, that thereby they become deſpiſeable, and indeed altogether deſpiſed, drawing upon themſelves the point of thoſe Lances which they have neglected, and the venom of thoſe Pens which they too kindly embrace.

P. *As therefore all kind of ſtudies are not proper for all kind of perſons, ſo neither is it lawful for every one to ſpend ſo much time in them as he would.*

G. You ſay right; for as *Alexanders* dog thought any creature of leſs ſtrength and courage than a Lyon to be unworthy of his anger, and would not vouchſafe to ſtir, if he did not

ſee

ſee an object equal to his valour; ſo men ought to make choice of ſuch ſtudies as are proportionable to their conditions. And foraſmuch as by Gods Providence you are born ſuch a one, as will one day have occaſion to render him an account of a Principality, you muſt of neceſſity learn to govern it well, without amuſing your ſelf upon knowledges more curious than uſeful, and which would better become a Profeſſor in Philoſophy than the General of an Army.

P. *I know that men do not uſe to ſend for Shoe-makers to make their clothes, nor to Taylors to make their boots. Neverthleſs many Princes enter upon the Government before they have paſt an Apprentiſhip for it, and take the leaſt care of that which concerns them the moſt. But that I may not be one of that number, I conjure you to inſtruct me in all that I ought to know; to be able to govern.*

G. The method of good Government is not to be learnt, but from the mouth or actions of Kings and Princes. Therefore I beſeech you to give diligent heed to all you ſhall read in the Books of the *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, and the *Wiſdom of Solomon*, in the *Sacred Story*; in the Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον which *James* VI. King of *Scotland*, and firſt of that name of *England*, compoſed for the inſtruction of his Son; in *Guevara*; in the life of *Marcus Aurelius*, in the *Romulus*, *Tarquin*, and *David perſecuted*, written by *Malvezzi*; in the lives of

Philip II. King of *Spain*, and *Henry* IV. King of *France*; and every where elſe where profane Hiſtory takes notice of the vices and virtues of great men; that ſo you may day by day grow to be an honeſter man, and a more excellent Prince.

P. *I have already read ſome part of that which you preſcribe to me, and ſhould punctually obſerve this rule, if I were not hindred by my ignorance in the Languages wherein they are written.*

G. That defect would occaſion many others to you; and if you did not learn to underſtand Authours in their own Language, you would receive but little ſatisfaction: for ordinarily tranſlations have leſs grace and ornament than the Originals. For which reaſon I have given order to your Maſter, to uſe the eaſieſt method for you, and the greateſt diligence he can, that you may be a good Proficient in forain Languages. I beſeech you to ſecond his laborious endeavours, and help to make them fruitful.

P. *Your will hath always had the authority of a Law with me; and I find it good for me to have learnt what you judged to be for my advantage. Having therefore heard you ſay that* Italian *is eaſily obtainable by thoſe that ſpeak* Latin *and* French, *I ſhall endeavour to get theſe two in perfection, before I undertake the third.*

G. I like your deſign, and dare aſſure you that

that you will learn *Italian* with eaſe by the help of *French*; for the knowledge of the one ſmooths the difficulties which occur in the other, eſpecially if one begin with *French*.

P. *Which of theſe two do you eſteem the fineſt Language, and the moſt uſeful?*

G. Your queſtion doth ſomewhat perplex me: for my part I think them both equally good and graceful, but not equally uſeful; for to know the utility of a Language, it ſhould be conſidered in what part of the World a man inhabits, what perſons he frequents, and with whom he hath to do. *Italian* is in high eſteem and exceedingly uſeful in the Emperours Court, and upon all the Coaſts of the *Mediterranean Sea*. They that trade in *Aſia*, *Africk* and *Europe* with the *Turks*, *Greeks*, *Arabians*, *Candians*, *Rhodians*; *Cyprians*, and other *Levantine* people, may commodiouſly make uſe of it. *French* is in greater vogue towards the North, and is marvellouſly well entertained in *Germany*, *England*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Poland*, where all the Kings, Princes and Lords ſpeak it exactly, except the Emperour, who neither loves the *French* nor their Language: yet it is ſo much in faſhion, that the chiefeſt *Italians*, nay even the *Spaniards* of his Court, and all others that I have known in *Germany*, ſpeak it, or clip it.

P. *Then would it not be better for a* German *Prince to learn* French *perfectly, and practiſe it continually, than to amuſe himſelf upon many*

many Languages, and become master of never a one of them?

G. Every man should take a just measure of his own strength, and not grasp at more than he can hold. But seeing you have a natural disposition to learn Languages, and the honour to be a Prince, which gives you the hope, and almost the assurance of being employed in variety of business, and in divers Countreys; I lay it as a charge upon you, to love *French*, and not neglect *Italian*.

The end of the first Dialogue.

DIALOGUE II.

Of the State of the Empire in general.

P. *I Understand French indifferent well already, and I think if I made a voyage through* France *I might easily attain to the perfection of it. And therefore I earnestly entreat you to use the power and credit you have with my parents, that by their good leave I may begin to travel, and see what Europe affords worthy of my observation.*

G. I know that travelling is a proper means to accomplish what you have begun, but I cannot allow that you should imitate those who make

make it there ſtudy day and night to learn what was done at *Rome* 2000. years ſince, without taking any thought to know how men live in *Germany* at the preſent. They that ſtudy in ſuch a manner, are like thoſe imprudent buſie-bodies, who having their eyes open to ſee what is done among their neighbours, have no regard to underſtand what is doing in their own houſes. My opinion is, that before you go out of *Germany*, you learn the State of the Empire, leſt being skilful in forain things, you remain ignorant of domeſtick affairs, and deſiring to become a Citizen of the World, you be nevertheleſs but a ſtranger at home.

P. *You have ſo often entertained me with relating the rarities of* Italy, France, England, *and* Spain, *that I am in love with thoſe pleaſant Countreys; and then the Wars whereof the Low-countreys have been the Theatre, and thoſe alſo which the* Swedes *have ſucceſsfully begun and ended in the Empire, inflame my heart with a deſire to ſee* Sweden *and* Flanders. *Nevertheleſs ſince you think fit that we ſhould take a curſory view of the Empire, I am content, and do therefore pray you to tell me, what it is requiſite for me to know thereof; that when I am in forain Countreys, I may be able to diſcourſe of my own, and ſhow, that I am not ignorant of that which I am concerned to know.*

G. The Ancients have written but few things touching our Empire, and modern writers do ſo much ſerve and humour their own paſſion, that

It

it is hard to ſee clear in what they deliver: yet becauſe it imports you more to underſtand *Germany* than other Countreys, I am content to anſwer unto every thing which you ſhall be pleaſed to ask me concerning the State of the Empire. Do me the favour then to think of what you deſire to learn upon that ſubject, and propoſe your queſtions freely.

P. *We will ſpeak, if you pleaſe, of the head and the principal Members of the Empire; of their power and authority; of the riſe, progreſs and alliances of illuſtrious Houſes; of the order which they obſerve in Aſſemblies; of the branches of every Family; of the cauſes of love, hatred and jealouſie amongſt them; and of other ſuch like things, which ſhall come into my mind while we are diſcourſing of them. And if occaſion offer us any queſtion Political or Moral, you will oblige me not to let it paſs without a rational diſcuſſion. Now becauſe* Bodin *and ſome other enemies of our State, out of envy to ſee us for ſo many ages in poſſeſſion of the Imperial Crown, debaſe the Majeſty of the Empire as much as they can, and think that our Government is Ariſtocratical; do me the kindneſs to undertake the defence thereof, and acquaint me with the truth of the caſe.*

G. Strangers are to blame, when they ſpeak of what they know not; and all men, when they write contrary to their own judgement. It is better to hold ones peace, than to ſmother the truth: for although many men hate it,

it, and great ones are not usually fed with this diet, but under a disguise; yet for all that, it is pleasant and acceptable to all good and virtuous persons. Well then, there is nothing under Heaven that can equal the Empire; and the title of *Cesar* and of *Augustus*, is no where to be found but in *Germany*. True it is, they that speak of the Emperour, as well *Germans* as strangers, deny him an absolute power; and I agree, that he doth not all that he will; nay, as earthly powers are in perpetual motion, I confess he is no more at such a high period of greatness as *Charlemagne* and the *Saxons* were: But they that devest the Emperour of the title of Monarch, and deny the Empire to be the most divine form of Government, do equally offend both Him and Us.

P. *I do not think that the State of the Empire is purely Monarchical, because the Emperour is not absolute.*

G. If it were necessary that a Monarch, to be so, should have absolute power to do every thing that he would, there would be no Monarchs at all, but such as those monstrous Tyrants, the *Turk* and the *Muscovite*. Therefore when I yield to you, that the Emperour doth not absolutely do what he will, yet I must not forbear to assure you that he is a Monarch; nay, the first Monarch in the world; and it is actually seen, that all other Monarchs of Christendom do willingly give him place.

P. *Is the Emperour subject to Laws?*

G. The

G. The Emperour being a man and a Chriſtian, is obliged to obſerve both Humane and Divine Laws; and becauſe he promiſes and ſwears not to do any thing contrary to the Capitulation which the Electors preſcribe to him after his Election, doubtleſs he is bound to keep it, in like manner as all Kings are, not to violate the fundamental Laws of their State: But the obedience he yields to his Laws doth in no caſe derogate from his right of Soveraignty.

P. *Is it not neceſſary in Monarchies, that one alone ſhould command, and all the reſt obey?*

G. The word *Obey* ſhould not be taken here in a ſtrict ſenſe; it is ſufficient that all the members of a Monarchy acknowledge the Monarch for the head, from whence all their power, dignity, and glory is derived. And in the caſe of our Emperour, the Electors, Princes, and other great Lords do freely confeſs, that their dignity is nothing but a beam iſſuing from the Imperial Majeſty.

P. *All men are not of your opinion; and there are thoſe who believe, that the Princes of the Empire do not acknowledge to hold their greatneſs of any but God; And really it ſeems, that if they did acknowledge to hold it of the Emperour, they would not in plain terms uſe this kind of ſtyle,* N. by the grace of God Duke, *&c.*

G. That title is communicated to them with that of Elector, Duke or Prince; and experience teacheth us, that when a Count, who was not

not ſuch *by the grace of God*, is raiſed to the degree of a Prince, he forthwith takes the quality of Prince *by the grace of God*: From whence it follows, that as no man is Elector, Duke or Prince, but by the Emperours grant, in like manner theſe Princes are not qualified ſo, but by way of Communication. Nay, it is impoſſible that they ſhould be abſolutely independent of any but God, being (as they are) Subjects of the Empire, receiving their dignity from the Emperour, and doing him Homage for their Principalities.

P. *Can the Emperour create Princes, Counts, and Barons, to have place and vote in the Aſſemblies, without the conſent and concurrence of the States of the Empire for his ſo doing?*

G. The Emperour, by that ample power which inſeparably adheres to the Imperial Majeſty, may raiſe perſons of merit to the higheſt Secular dignities; but becauſe the States of the Empire might ſuffer ſome prejudice, if he admitted into their Aſſemblies all the perſons that his Majeſty advances to the quality of Prince, the Emperours have thought it reaſonable to have the conſent of the ſaid States, conceiving it but juſt, that what concerns a whole body, ſhould be approved by the ſame.

P. *Cannot the Emperour confer Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and give Biſhopricks to whom he pleaſes?*

G. He

G. He hath loſt that right by the over-growing authority of Popes, who not content to have robb'd the Emperour of his right to nominate, or at leaſt to confirm thoſe Soveraign Prelates: have taken from him the power of nominating to the Eccleſiaſtical dignities of *Germany*; And they did alſo oblige him to come and take his Imperial Crown at their hands, but no Emperour hath been crowned at *Rome* ſince *Charles* V.

P. *I would gladly know how the Popes have ſo much leſſened the Imperial Majeſty.*

G. The Emperour *Conſtantine* the Great having removed the ſeat of the Empire to *Conſtantinople*, the *Roman* Biſhops began to have more Elbow-room, and laying the foundation of their greatneſs as well upon the diſtance of the Emperours Reſidence, as upon the piety of Princes, and the reſpect given unto them, they took upon them the name of Univerſal Biſhop, which their Predeceſſors never thought of, but with horrour and deteſtation. Nevertheleſs the *Lombards* kept the Popes in awe, and vexed them often, till the time of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, who undertook their protection, and enriched them with the eſtate of thoſe troubleſom Kings. The Pope willing to acknowledge thoſe good turns, did Homage to thoſe Princes for the Territories of *Ravenna* and *Pentapolis* or *Romagnia*, which *Pepin* had liberally beſtowed upon him, and obliged his Succeſſours to the ſame duty, agreeing that thoſe Princes and their Heirs

Heirs ſhould have the Right and Prerogative of chooſing Popes. Thoſe two Kings made uſe of that right; but after the death of *Charles*, the moſt potent of the Clergy, fearing they might not have intereſt enough in the Emperours Court, got themſelves choſen at *Rome*, and afterwards came with an excuſe that they were not able to hinder their election, and therefore beſought *Lewis* the *Debonaire* to confirm them; which he did for fear of diſobliging them.

P. *Did this ſubmiſſion of the Popes continue long?*

G. No, but a ſhort time: for Pope *Nicolas* I. of that name, being better ſeen in State-matters than his predeceſſors, diſengaged himſelf of that duty, and uſing the Thunder of the *Vatican* in a right ſeaſon, excommunicated *Lotharius* Brother to *Lewis* King of *Italy*, and gave ſo much courage to his Succeſſors, that in a ſhort time they took the boldneſs to pretend to the election of the Emperours, to degrade them, and to ſet up another inſtead of any one that had the misfortune to diſpleaſe them.

P. *Did not the Emperours withſtand thoſe violences?*

G. All that had any reſolution reſiſted that injuſtice, paſt over the *Alpes*, and forced the Popes to keep themſelves within their duty: but as Princes are oftentimes ſome more unfortunate or leſs couragious than others, at

length *Gregory* VII. *Urban* II. and many other Popes trampled the Majesty of the Emperours under their feet, thunder'd, and decreed against them in their Councils, depriv'd them of their Right, and brought them by force to go and take the Imperial Crown at their hands, saying there was as much difference betwixt Popes and *Emperours*, as there is betwixt the Sun and the Moon: intending to infer from thence, that as the latter of those two planets hath no light but what is communicated to it by the Sun, so the Emperour had no other glory, nor power, nor Majesty but what the Pope bestowed upon him. But since *Charles* V. his time no Emperour hath been Crowned by the hands of the Pope; and it seems that the House of *Austria* hath recovered that to the Empire, which the unhappiness of former times had rent from it.

P. *It was a great unhappiness indeed, that our Forefathers gave so much way, and parted with so much of their Right to the Popes: But you do also confess, that his Majesty cannot give any Right of suffrage in the Assemblies of the Empire unto those persons whom he raises to the dignity of Prince, without the consent of the States first obtained.*

G. No man having voice or seat in the Diets but he that is entred in the Register or Matriculation-Roll of the Empire, which remains in the custody of the Elector of *Mentz*; it follows necessarily, that no man can be admitted to sit there

there without the knowledge and allowance of that Elector.

P. *That which you tell me, doth in ſome ſort derogate from the Majeſty of the Emperour, who in that reſpect ſeems leſs abſolute than the Kings of* France *and* Spain; *for they can give the titles of Duke and Grandee to whom they pleaſe, and endue new men with the priviledges of the ancienteſt Lords of that Order, without pre-acquainting them with it.*

G. Thoſe that the King of *France* raiſes to the dignity of Duke, muſt have their Patent verified in the Parliament of *Paris*, before they can take their place there: and though this were not ſo, we ſhould only be bound to confeſs, that the Emperours have uſed more favour toward the principal Members of the Empire, than the Kings of *France* do toward their Peers, or thoſe of *Spain* toward their Grandees. But for all that, neither of thoſe Kings though great and potent, is ſo eminent as the Emperour, except in this regard, that both of them have no Superiour, nor any equal within their Dominions.

P. *Hath the Emperour any more illuſtrious marks of Soveraignty than thoſe Kings, who give no man an account of their edicts, but in theſe terms,* For ſuch is Our pleaſure?

G. Thoſe Kings are great, and as it were Emperours upon their own Territories, and make Lawes, create Magiſtrates, Lords, and Gentlemen, as many as they pleaſe: but nei-

ther they, nor any other perſon in the World equals the Emperour, who by a plenitude of power creates Kings, and hath a Right to hinder any other Potentate from attempting to do the like.

P. *The Emperour doth often erect Lands into Baronies, Earldoms and Dukedoms; nay, he makes Barons, Counts, and Dukes, without giving them any land: But I have never heard it affirmed, that he had the power to erect Principalities into Kingdoms.*

G. The Emperour *Otho* III. made *Poland* a Kingdom of a Dukedom in the year 1001. *Henry* IV. did the like for *Bohemia* in the year 1086. and *Charles* the Brave Duke of *Burgundy* deſired the Emperour *Frederick* III. to give him the title of King, but could not obtain it. All which things do without queſtion elevate the Emperour above all the Monarchs of the Univerſe, and make it evident that the Imperial dignity is the moſt eminent upon earth.

P. *I believe, as you do, that no King aſſumes the authority to erect Principalities into Kingdoms, and that our Emperour in that point hath no equal in the world; but you have not yet proved, that he hath the power of hindring others from giving thoſe eminent titles.*

G. The Pope ſays he hath the ſame Prerogative; but *Pius* V. having given the title of great Duke of *Tuſcany* to *Coſmo de Medicis* in in the year 1569. the Emperour *Maximilian*

II

II. oppoſed it, and made *Coſmo* receive it from him: And by that action the Pope was obliged to confeſs that he had exceeded and transgreſſed the bounds of his power.

P. *Parents do not love their Children with more tenderneſs, nor Children their Parents with more reverence, than I love the Empire; and for that cauſe you can tell me nothing that affects me comparably to the relation of its greatneſs. Continue therefore, and as you have touched ſomething of the Majeſty of the Head, give me ſome account alſo of the Members.*

G. The principal Members of the Empire are the Electors, which at this preſent are three Eccleſiaſticks and five Seculars. They of *Mentz*, *Tryers*, and *Collen*, are Arch-Biſhops and Arch-Chancellors; the firſt in *Germany*, the ſecond in *France* and in the Kingdom of *Arles*, and the third in *Italy*: The Seculars are the King of *Bohemia*, who is great Cupbearer; the Duke of *Bavaria*, who is great Steward; the Duke of *Saxony*, who is great Marſhal or Conſtable; the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, who is great Chamberlain, and the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, who is great Treaſurer of the Empire.

P. *Are thoſe offices which you now mentioned, the principal function of each Elector?*

G. There is nothing that makes the Electoral dignity ſo eminent, as the right they have to elect the Emperour, and to depoſe him

when by his enormous crimes, or by an unmanly idleneſs, he neglects the honour of the Empire, the publick good, and the duty of his place.

P. *Was the Empire always Elective?*

G. *Charlemagne* having gotten the Imperial dignity, transmitted it to his poſterity by way of Succeſſion; and that right continued in his Houſe, as long as his deſcendents retained any thing of the generoſity of that incomparable Heroical perſon: But when his virtue became totally extinguiſhed in his Succeſſors, the Empire was offered to *Otho* of *Saxony*, who refuſed it, and adviſed them to confer that honour upon *Conrade* Duke of *Franconia*. After *Conrade*, *Henry* Son to *Otho* of *Saxony* (who had refuſed the Empire) was choſen into his place, and his Son *Otho* the I. ſucceeded him. And that way of ſucceſſion from Father to Son was obſerved till the time of *Henry* IV. who coming to that Dignity while he was under age, and ruling badly enough when he was of years to do better, the Lords of the Empire began to undervalue his authority, and Pope *Gregory* VII. taking occaſion by the foretop, declared him unfit to Reign, excommunicated him, and commanded that the Imperial Scepter ſhould be given to another. Then the *Germans* made a Law, whereby they aboliſhed the right of ſucceſſion, and aſſumed to themſelves that of chuſing the Emperours.

P. *It ſeems to me that the Empire was elective*

lective ſooner than the time you ſpecifie.

G. Some would have it, that the Electors were inſtituted after the death of the Emperour *Otho* III. and others, only in the time of *Rodolph* of *Habſpurg*; ſo that there is no certainty to be known in this matter, and it is free for every man to follow the opinion he thinks moſt probable.

P. *When the right of ſucceſſion from Father to Son was aboliſhed, was the power of chuſing the Emperours given to the Princes that bear the title of Electors at this day?*

G. When the Empire became Elective, all the Princes as well Secular as Eccleſiaſtical, the Lords, Prelates, and Cities, in one word, all the Eſtates of the Empire got the power of creating the Emperours: Afterwards in proceſs of time the leſs conſiderable were debarred of that right; and at length the confuſion which grew from that great number of Electors made it be thought convenient to reduce them to a few. Then they that held the higheſt Offices in the Imperial Court, excluded all others from them, and the Emperour *Charles* IV. confirmed them in the poſſeſſion of that right by a regulation which he made thereupon in an Ordinance called *The Golden Bull.*

P. *Until what time did that great number of Princes and Lords concur to the election of the Emperours?*

G. It may be made appear to thoſe that will be ſatisfied with reaſon, that many had a voice

in the Election of Emperours until the time of *Frederick* II. For *Otho Friſingenſis* aſſures us, that *Henry* II. was choſen Emperour by all the Lords of the Empire; and when he was dead, *Conrade* Duke of *Franconia* was advanced into his place by the conſent of all. *Henry* III. ſon to *Conrade* was alſo choſen, but there is no mention made of the Electors. The *Abbot* of *Urſperg* writes, that *Henry* IV. was raiſed to the Imperial dignity by the Biſhops and Princes of *Germany*. The ſame Authour ſays, that *Henry* V. was choſen by all; that *Lotharius* II. was made Emperour by two Archbiſhops, eight Biſhops, many Abbots and Lords of the Imperial Court; that *Conrade* III. was placed upon the Throne, the Duke of *Saxony* not being called to the Election, and the See of *Mentz* being then vacant; that *Frederick Barbaroſſa* was choſen by all the *German* Princes; that *Philip* came to the Empire by an Election which the *Suevians*, *Bavarians*, and *Saxons* made of him; that *Otho* IV. received the Scepter from thoſe of *Collen*, *Strasburg*, and ſome other Cities. The ſame *Abbot* of *Urſperg* ſays, that the Emperour *Otho* IV. was excommunicated, and that the Princes of *Germany*, to wit, the King of *Bohemia*, the Dukes of *Auſtria* and *Bavaria*, the *Landgrave* of *Thuringia*, and many other Princes choſe *Frederick* King of *Sicily*, to whom they had formerly ſworn Allegiance, even while he was yet in his cradle: This is that *Frederick* until whoſe time, as you

ſee,

ſee, the number of the Electors was uncertain.

P. *There ſeems to me to be a contradiction in what you ſay, that the* Empire *was ſucceſſive until* Henry *IV. and a little after you affirm, that* Henry *II.* Conrade, Henry *III. and IV. were Elected.*

G. I had taken notice before, that the Authors who write upon this ſubject, are at variance among themſelves; for which reaſon I alledge thoſe that ſpeak of thoſe Elections: And it is ſufficient for me to ſhew you, it is the opinion of Writers, that the number of Electors was not reduced to Seven till after the time of *Frederick* II. And here you may obſerve, that the Eighth was not heard of till the laſt peace of *Germany*.

P. *Why was the number of them increaſed at the Treaty of peace concludeed at* Munſter *and* Oſnaburg *in the year* 1648.

G. In the year 1623. the Emperour *Ferdinand* II. transferred the Electoral dignity from *Frederick* V. Count Palatine to *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*. This tranſlation of dignity, and many other acts of Soveraignty, which the Empire remarked in *Ferdinand* with a jealous eye; as the taking upon himſelf alone to decide matters which cannot be determined, but by the judgement of all the Eſtates of the Empire; the reſuming of Church-lands poſſeſſed by Proteſtants, and giving them to Religious Orders; together with a fear of worſe proceedings, obliged the Princes to joyn in a League, and to call

call ſtrangers to their aſſiſtance. The War was long, and ſo bloody, that it ſwept away more than half the people of *Germany*. At laſt both ſides being weary, an Aſſembly was held at *Munſter* to conclude a Peace, and the Ambaſſadors there found themſelves in a great ſtrait how to ſatisfie the two principal branches of that Houſe. Each of them pretended to the Electorate; the firſt, having had poſſeſſion thereof for many ages, required the reſtitution of it; and the ſecond, alledging the ſignal ſervices he had done the Empire, by which he merited that recompenſe, would not conſent to the Peace, unleſs it were provided that he ſhould ſtill enjoy that honour. In concluſion, as *Maximilian* had many friends, ſo *Charles Lewis* did not want his ſupports: Whereupon they came to this agreement, That *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria* ſhould have the firſt Electorſhip to him and his poſterity, and an eighth place ſhould be new-erected for *Charles Lewis* Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*; upon this condition, that if the *Gulielmine* branch hapned to fail before the *Rodolphine*, theſe latter ſhould re-enter into their ancient Electorſhip, and the other newly created ſhould be wholly aboliſhed.

P. *I do not wonder that theſe Princes did ſo earneſt deſire, the one to recover, and the other to keep the Electorate in his Branch; ſince it is believed, that this dignity makes the poſſeſſors thereof not inferiour to Kings.*

G. The

G. The Electoral dignity is very great; and they that are endued with it, are in a more eminent degree than other Potentates of the Empire, becauſe they have power to make the Emperour: But I do not think they may be equalled to Kings. Nay, I remember I have read, that the laſt Duke of *Burgundy*, of the blood Royal of *France*, demanded precedence before the Electors at the Council of *Baſil*, and obtained his pretence.

P. *I know, that Duke alledging his high deſcent, and the many Dutchies, Counties, and other Lordſhips in his poſſeſſion, obtained a declaration from the Council of* Baſil, *that in regard of his condition and his great Eſtates, he ſhould precede the Secular Electors. But you alſo know, that the Electors have taken place of Kings upon ſome occaſions.*

G. The King of *Bohemia* gives place to many others, except when he is in the Diet for the Election of an Emperour; and in the like caſe the Elector of *Brandenburg* hath diſputed the precedence with *Rodolph* II. King of *Hungary*. Nevertheleſs it is out of controverſie, that the Electoral dignity is inferiour to the Royal: And it may be proved by the order which the Electors themſelves obſerve; for the Elector of *Bohemia*, when he was but Duke, had the loweſt place, but having obtained the title of King, he began to go before his Collegues, only becauſe it was not thought reaſonable that a Royal perſon, Crowned and Anointed, ſhould

ſhould give way to thoſe that were but barely Electors.

P. Though this dignity do not ſtand upon equal terms with that of Kings, it is nevertheleſs very great; but who is the chiefeſt among the Electors?

G. None of them diſputes the precedencie with him of *Mentz*, who is Dean of the Electoral Colledge, appoints the day and place of the Election, when the Emperour is dead, or when it is neceſſary to chuſe a King of the *Romans*: The ſecond is the Elector of *Tryer*, the third of *Collen*. Thus the Eccleſiaſticks take place of the Secular Princes; of whom the King of *Bohemia* is the firſt, the Duke of *Bavaria* the ſecond, the Duke of *Saxony* the third, the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* the fourth, and the Count Palatine the laſt. Notwithſtanding which order, I muſt think the Electors of the *Rhine* and *Saxony* to be above all the reſt, becauſe during the vacancy of the Empire they are Vicars thereof, and can do all that is in the Emperours power (except giving Inveſtiture to thoſe that hold great Territories or Lordſhips in Fee of the Empire) without being ſubject to give an account of their adminiſtration.

P. *When is it that they chuſe an Emperour?*

G. The Empire being deſtitute of a Head, by the natural death of the Emperour, by his own ſpontaneous demiſſion, or by his demerit, when for his unworthineſs he is deprived of it, they proceed to the election of another.

P. *Me-*

P. *Methinks it is very ſtrange, that they can diſpoſſeſs an Emperour; and much more, that there ſhould be any who would voluntarily reſign their Crown.*

G. Both the one and the other have been ſeen more than once; and that we may not go too far back to ſeek for examples very remote from our time, it ſhall be ſufficient for me to tell you, that *Wenceſlaus* Son to *Charles* IV. being become unfit for the Imperial Crown, was forced to ſurrender it unto *Robert* the Elector Palatine in the year 1400. And when *Charles* V. had ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors in merit, and ſhown by nine voyages, which he made into *Germany*, ſix into *Spain*, ſeven into *Italy*, four into *France*, ten into the Low-Countreys, two into *England*, as many into *Africa*, and by paſſing the Ocean and Mediterranean Seas eleven times, that nothing was impoſſible to a Prince of his reſolution; he would further manifeſt, that he knew how to conquer himſelf, and having called his Son *Philip* into the Netherlands, he put the Scepter of *Spain* with all its dependancies into his hands, and by *William* of *Naſſau* Prince of *Orange* ſent the Imperial Crown to his brother, who was already King of the *Romans*: After which he retired himſelf to a quiet ſolitude in the year 1556. where he lived two more in the contemplation of heavenly joys, and went to receive them the 21. of *September* 1558.

P. *It is a wonder that a Prince ſo inclined to*

honour

honour the holy See, did not reſign his Scepter into the hands of the Pope.

G. That incomparable Monarch loved to have the See of *Rome* flouriſh, but was not willing the glory thereof ſhould be illuſtrated by the eclipſe of the Empire. He knew what he ought to the Church, and what to *Germany*: He was not ignorant that the Conſtitutions of Popes aim at the weakning of the Empire, and the diminution of its authority; but he knew alſo how to put a difference betwixt juſt and unjuſt. And by that action he maintained the right of the Empire, and yet did wrong to no body.

P. *May a King of the* Romans *be choſen while the Emperour is living?*

G. There are that think it ought not to be done, becauſe it is as much as to give occaſion to one to wiſh the death of another. Yet experience, which is more to be conſidered than the ſpeculative fancies of Doctors, teaches us, that *Charles* IV. *Wenceſlaus*, *Maximilian* I. and II. *Rodolph* II. *Ferdinand* III. and IV. were choſen in the life-time of their predeceſſors. We have not any example, that a King of the *Romans* hath been made againſt the Emperours will; but I think it out of queſtion, that they who can depoſe an Emperour, may alſo appoint him a Succeſſour without his conſent.

P. *Some ſay, that when they create a King of the* Romans *while the Emperour is living, they ſet two Heads upon the Empire, and two Maſters over* Germany. *G.* So

G. So long as the Emperour lives, the King of the *Romans* hath no authority of his own, and his dignity is but ſubordinate to that of the Emperour: from whence it follows, that without impoſing two Heads upon the Empire, or two Maſters upon *Germany*, a Succeſſor to the Emperour may be nominated, who inſtead of procuring or deſiring his death, may only eaſe his pains, get inſight in buſineſs, and learn how to govern.

P. *Where do the Electors meet, when there is queſtion of making an Emperour, or a King of the* Romans?

G. The election ſhould be made at *Francfort*; and indeed the greateſt part of the Emperours received that honour there: Nay, the Elector of *Saxony* queſtioned the election of *Ferdinand* I. becauſe it was made at *Collen*, in the year 1530. Nevertheleſs before *Ferdinands* time, *Henry* II. was choſen at *Mentz*, *Henry* III. at *Aix*, *Henry* V. at *Collen*, *Lotharius* II. at *Mentz*, and after him *Maximilian*, and *Rodolph* II. and *Ferdinand* III. received that honour at *Ratisbon*. From whence you may conclude, that the place of the Election is not certain.

P. *Wherefore was the number of the Electors reduced to ſeven? And what was the reaſon that there were three Eccleſiaſtical, and four Military?*

G. Religion and Arms being the foundation and ſure ſupport of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, the Emperour could not provide better for

for the ſafety of the Empire, than by chuſing three Prelates and four Captains, to help him in bearing part of that great burthen while he lived, and to put another into his place after his death. But there were ſeven of them, not only becauſe that number is myſterious and venerable, but becauſe being odd, if the voices in an election hapned to be equally divided, one of the Electors might caſt the ballance to that ſide where he thought there was the moſt merit. Beſides there were ſome of them Churchmen for this reaſon, that being it was impoſſible for them to come to the Crown, they might keep the other Electors within the compaſs of their duty, and put a bar, that no man ſhould be choſen, but he that deſerved that dignity: Which, as we have already declared, is the chiefeſt in Chriſtendom.

P. *You place the King of* Bohemia *amongſt the real and true Electors, whereas many as well Germans as Forainers ſay, that he is not called to the Diets, nor hath any voice at the election of the Emperour, but when the other Electors cannot agree.*

G. The King of *Bohemia* hath no voice nor place in the Aſſemblies, which the learned call the *Univerſal Senate*, and the *Epitome of the Empire*; neither is he ſummoned to appear there, becauſe being not regiſtred in the Matriculation-roll, nor contributing any thing to the neceſſities of the Empire, he doth not ſit in thoſe meetings: nevertheleſs, they that ſay he

he is no true Elector, and hath no voice at Elections, do not reflect that King *Ladiſlaus* made a bitter complaint becauſe he was omitted at the Election of *Maximilian* I. that he threatned to take arms, and never left clamouring till the Empire came to this accord with him, That whoever ſhould omit him for the time to come, ſhould be condemned to pay 500. marks of Gold: And they that are moſt experienced and skilful in this point, give him the firſt voice, and ſay that *Sigiſmond* of *Luxenburg* King of *Bohemia*, being in the Diet for the choice of an Emperour after the death of *Robert* of *Bavaria*, ſpoke the firſt according to the cuſtom, and ſaying that he knew no man more worthy of the Empire than he was, named himſelf; whereupon the reſt of the Electors his Collegues admiring his freedom and generoſity, unanimouſly gave him their voices.

P. *I ſee then, the Electors may name themſelves.*

G Yes, but not all. The Eccleſiaſtieks have not a paſſive or reflexive voice in thoſe Diets of Election, that is, they may name another, but not themſelves; becauſe the Ancients thought it not fit, that one and the ſame hand ſhould bear the Croſier and the Sword, nor one and the ſame head wear the Miter and the Imperial Crown.

P. *It being neceſſary then that the Emperour ſhould be Secular, may all Seculars indifferently be raiſed to that dignity?*

G. the Electors can advance no man to the Imperial Throne, but he that is of an illustrious, rich, and German Family. The reason why the Emperour should be of an illustrious House is this, because, being he is to be Head over many Princes that resemble so many Kings, it is to be presumed they would not willingly yield obedience to a person of mean condition. He should be rich, because the Emperours have alienated almost all the Rights of the Empire, and by their ill husbandry forced the Electors to have an eye to the riches of him they chuse, that he may maintain himself out of his own Revenues with that splendor that is requisite to the Imperial Majesty. He should be a German, because a stranger having but little affection for us, might transfer the seat of the Empire to some other place, and deprive *Germany* of that prerogative, or put it upon a necessity to keep the same by way of Arms.

P. *It seems to me, that all the Emperours of* Germany *have not been natural Germans; and consequently, it is not necessary that he that is chosen should be so.*

G. Before the Emperour *Charles* IV. had made the Golden Bull to be published, it was not required that the Emperour should be a German; but since that time, though it be not absolutely necessary for him to be born in *Germany*, it is necessary that he be a *German* by extraction. Such were *Charles* and *Ferdinand* the First, though the former were born

in the County of *Flanders*, and the latter at *Medina* in *Caſtile*. Likewiſe *Francis* I. King of *France*, alledging that he was a *German*, when they made ſcruple to place him upon the Imperial Throne, did not pretend to have it believed that *Angouleſme* was in *Germany*, but that his predeceſſors were originally of *Germany*.

P. *I conceive it may be ſeaſonable in this place to ask, whether it be better that Kingdoms ſhould be Elective or Succeſſive; and becauſe I know you will be able to reſolve the doubt, I deſire you to ſatisfie my curioſity.*

G. In ſpeculation, each of theſe forms hath its advantages and diſcommodities; but I do not think that rationally one can be preferred before the other, but with reſpect to places, times, and perſons. *Germany*, *Denmark*, and *Poland* find it expedient to elect their Princes: The *French*, *Spaniards* and *Swedes* like it better that the Son or neareſt Kinſman ſhould ſucceed their Kings. The reaſons of thoſe that prefer Succeſſion, are plauſible. They ſay, that ordinarily in the time of the *Interregnum*, Elective Monarchies fall into Anarchy, diſorders, and the danger of utter ruine, being like a ſhip in a ſtorm without a pilot; that Elective Princes, having no aſſured hope to tranſmit the Crown to their children, endeavour to enrich them at the charge of the publick, and that no man hath ſo great a care to preſerve anothers eſtate as his own. They

add further, that perſons of low degree are elected, who become inſolent upon it, and leave no ſtone unturned to make the Crown Hereditary to their Family; and which is ſtill worſe, ſometimes the Electors being at variance, inſtead of one Head ſet many over the Common-wealth. But all theſe reaſons are good and allowable in thoſe States where Succeſſion hath had place for many ages. The *Germans* had rather have their Emperours by choice; and to prevent thoſe inconveniencies, they many times elect a Succeſſor to the Empire while the Emperour is living: And though that courſe be not taken, yet the Empire is not in danger to fall into Anarchy or any diſorder, ſeeing the Electors *Palatine* and of *Saxony* are Vicars of the Emperour, and Adminiſtrators of the Empire during the *Interregnum*. And ſo the ſhip is never without a Pilot in *Germany*; where to abate the deſire which the Emperours may have to agrandize their children by weakning the Monarchy, they uſually make choice of the neareſt of Kin to the Reigning Prince; and they do not transfer the Crown to another Houſe, but when they find never a Head worthy of it in that Family that hath it in poſſeſſion. This way of continuing the Imperial Dignity in one Houſe doth alſo hinder the inconvenience of advancing men of low degree to the Throne, and of giving two Heads at a time to one ſingle Common-wealth. For which cauſe I think it not fit to innovate any thing in

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State, and that every Nation ſhould perſevere in their ancient cuſtomes, foraſmuch as all changes in a State are dangerous.

P. *God be thanked, we do not ſee ſo many murders and ſeditions in* Germany *during the* Interregnum, *as there are at* Rome; *but there hath been no means found out to prevent alienating the demeſns of the Empire. The Emperour hath almoſt nothing left in* Italy, *and the beſt Cities of* Germany *being enfranchiz'd, the ſinew of the State hath loſt much of its ſtrength; which could never have been, if the Empire had always been Succeſſive.*

G. There is nothing complete and entire in this World; and it is as hard to find a perfect form of Government, as a Commonwealth, a King, an Orator, a Captain, a Courtier, an Ambaſſador, with the qualities which *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Onoſander*, *Caſtalio*, and *Taſſo* Fancy and deſire. When a Kingdom is Succeſſive, the people is often forced to obey a child, or rather thoſe who abuſing his authority do oppreſs and exhauſt his Subjects during his Minority. When it is Elective, they are divers times put to no ſmall trouble to find out a good King; and when they think they have choſen an *Auguſtus*, a *Trajan*, or an *Antonine*, it proves too often that they have pitched upon a *William*, a *Henry* VII. or a *Wenceſlaus*. We muſt look for perfection in Heaven, and not think to meet with it here below.

P. *Seeing we are in* Germany *where Election hath place, we ought to prefer it before Succeſſion; and to ſpeak truth, conſidering the State of the Empire at preſent, it ſeems to be preferable. But of what age ſhould a Prince be, to be capable of being placed upon the Imperial Throne?*

G. It were to be wiſhed that he were one, who had beforehand given ſome proofs of his virtue, and made his name glorious by his Military actions; nevertheleſs though by the Law no man can be raiſed to eminent honours before the age of 25. years, yet the Electors do not always tie themſelves ſtrictly to thoſe rules: For they choſe *Otho* III. in his infancy, *Henry* III. at twelve, *Henry* IV. at eight, *Frederick* II. and *William* at twenty, *Wenceſlaus* at fifteen, and *Charles* V. at nineteen years of age.

P. *I would willingly know what difference there is between the Emperour and the King of the* Romans.

G. You will meet with ſome Writers, who mean the Emperour when they are ſpeaking of the King of the *Romans*; and yet they are diſtinct perſons: For no man can be Vicar to himſelf, and the King of the *Romans* is the Emperours perpetual Vicar; when the Emperour is abſent, or taken up with other affairs, he adminiſters the Empire, and the Emperour being dead he ſucceeds without diſpute. The King of the *Romans* bears for his Arms the Eagle

Eagle with one head, the Emperour with two; he is ſtyled *Auguſtus*, and the Emperour *ſemper Auguſtus*: The Emperour writing to him uſeth the term of *Liebten* in Dutch which ſignifies *Dilection*, but he writing or ſpeaking to the Emperour, gives him that of *Majeſty*: To conclude, he acknowledges the Emperour for his Superiour, and though in his abſence he exerciſe the ſame power the Emperour did, it is but by conceſſion, for he hath no authority of his own within the Empire, ſo long as the Emperour is living: And therefore if he take place of other Kings, it is only becauſe he exerciſeth the ſame Juriſdiction which the Emperour doth.

P. *Is the King of the* Romans *the only Vicar of the Empire?*

G. Heretofore there were 3. Deputies in the Eaſt, as many in the Weſt, one in *Africa*, and another in *Spain*: At preſent there are but two for all, to wit the Electors of the *Rhine* and of *Saxony*; whoſe dignity is derived from the office of great Steward, which they had under the Emperours of *Charlemagne*'s Race. By virtue of that dignity, when the Emperour dyes, and before a Succeſſor be choſen, the firſt governs the *Rhine*, *Franconia*, *Swaben*, and *Bavaria*, as far as the *Alpes*; the other all that Countrey where the *Saxon* Laws are obſerved. But if there be a King of the *Romans*, that right ceaſes, becauſe he is Emperour that very moment wherein the other deceaſeth.

ceaſeth. So that it may be ſaid, when there is a King of the *Romans*, he is the only Vicar of the Empire; and when there is not one, the Electors of the *Rhine* and *Saxony* alone are the Vicars.

P. We have hitherto ſpoken ſufficiently of the Emperour, of his Vicars, and of the Electors. Nevertheleſs before we proceed any further, I would know whether the Emperour take the name of Ceſar *before his Coronation; and how he is ſerved when he eats in State.*

G. Immediately after the Emperour is choſen, he takes the name of Emperour, of *Ceſar*, and of *Auguſtus*: and if he pleaſes gives priviledges, and does all other acts of Soveraignty: Afterwards, when he will diſplay the Splendor of his Majeſty, he dines in Ceremony; and then the Eccleſiaſtical Electors ſay Grace, and hold the Seals; the Elector of *Brandenburg* gives him water to waſh, the *Saxon* executes the Office of Marſhal, the *Palſgrave* preſents him the firſt diſh of meat, and the King of *Bohemia* the firſt glaſs of Wine: But he wears not the Crown upon his head, unleſs he will himſelf: And if any Elector be abſent, his Deputy performs his Office, and not his Ambaſſador; now the Lieutenants or Deputies of the Electors are, the Lords and Counts of *Limbourg*, of *Walpourg*, of *Papentheim*, and of *Hohenzolleren*, for the four ancient Seculars: I do not know who is the Count *Palatines* Vicar, and the Eccleſiaſtical Electors have none.

P.

P. *I have heard you ſay, that at the Inauguration and Coronation of the Kings of* France *the Peers carry the Royal Ornaments; do not the Electors do the ſame at the Coronation of the Emperour?*

G. In thoſe Ceremonies the Elector of *Collen* did for a long time Crown the Emperour; but becauſe the Archbiſhops of that *See* have not been Prieſts for near a hundred years laſt paſt, he of *Mentz* performed that Office: And at the Inauguration of *Ferdinand* III. there was a diſpute between thoſe two Electors; for he of *Collen* being a Prieſt at that time, deſired to recover that honour; and he of *Mentz*, pleading the poſſeſſion of his Predeceſſors, urged that he ſhould be upheld and continued in that Right. In concluſion, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Elector of *Collen*, he of *Mentz* executed the Office; and ſome believe that he did but preſerve a Right which appertained to *Mentz* before. The Diadem of the ancients was certain white Scarfs, with which they bound the head of their Kings; at this time it is a Crown, which the Golden Bull calls *Infula*. It belongs to the King of *Bohemia* to carry that; as the bearing of the Ball to the Elector of *Bavaria*, of the Sword to the *Saxon*, and of the Scepter to the *Brandenburger*. The Imperial cloak is richly ſet with pretious ſtones, and is faſtned together with a golden buckle over the breaſt.

P. *Your mentioning of the Crown makes me*

call

call to mind that which ſome write, that the Emperour is Crowned at Aix *with an Iron Crown, at* Milan *with one of Silver, and at* Rome *with one of Gold.*

G. Charlemagnes Crown which is ſet upon the head of the Emperours at *Aix*, is of pure Gold, what ever you have read of it; but it ſhews by its lightneſs, that the Princes of that time were not profuſe in their expences. And as for the reſt, the Emperours go no more to ſeek a Crown at *Milan*, nor at *Rome*.

P. *The Majeſty of the Emperour is as a Sea without a Shore, a boundleſs ſubject, whereof a man cannot ſufficiently diſcourſe; but all that is ſaid of it, ſeems little in compariſon of what remains to be ſaid. Nevertheleſs, ſeeing it was not our deſign particularly to cull out all that makes the Head of the Empire ſo admirable; tell me what power the Electors give him: and then we will paſs on to the conſideration of the Members.*

G. The Electors do not give the Emperour the power he hath; for that power is inſeparably annexed to the Imperial dignity. But they make choice of a Prince, they declare him worthy of Majeſty, they give him the Scepter, they ſet him upon the Throne, and ſalute him Emperour. From this dignity proceeds the right of making Univerſal Laws, of creating Kings, Electors, Archdukes, Dukes, Marquiſſes, Landgraves, Counts, Barons, Gentlemen; and of depriving them of that honour, when they behave

have themſelves unworthily. For he that can give a dignity, can likewiſe take it away. He can alſo make Notaries, Tabellions, and Doctors; nay, erect Univerſities, where men that deſerve it may be declared, created, and made Doctors: He can legitimate Baſtards, reſtore to honour, give the benefit of age, erect Parliaments and other Courts of Juſtice, judge without Appeal, and give Inveſtiture to ſuch as hold great Territories in Fee of the Empire: He hath power of life and death, can give ſafe-guards, ſet up Poſts, and raiſe ordinary Burroughs into the rank and degree of Cities.

P. *Cannot the Emperour declare War, and make peace alſo?*

G. For the declaring of War, he muſt have the conſent of the Eſtates, who heretofore might refuſe to aid him with men and money. The power of making peace is of the ſame nature; and it is out of queſtion that the Emperour cannot conclude it alone, when the whole Empire is concerned: For then all the Eſtates having intereſt therein, it is probable that they ought to give their conſent thereunto; as they did at the laſt, which was concluded at *Munſter*, and confirmed at *Nuremberg*.

P. *I cannot perſwade my ſelf that the Emperour hath more power to make Univerſal Laws, and erect Parliaments, than he hath to declare War and make peace.*

G. It is true, that the Laws which oblige all *Germany* to their obſervation, are made in the

the general Aſſemblies; and that Juſtice is adminiſtred in ſuch place, and by ſuch perſons as the Emperour and the Eſtates appoint: But the ſingle approbation of the Emperour gives the name and force of an Univerſal Law to give determinations and reſults of the Eſtates of the Empire; as he alſo impowers the Judges and Aſſeſſors of Courts to adminiſter Juſtice: For which cauſe it may be ſaid, that the Emperour makes Laws, and eſtabliſheth Parliaments.

The end of the Second Dialogue.

DIALOGUE III.

Of the Eſtates of the Empire in general; And in particular,
Of the Auſtrian *and* Electoral *Houſes.*

P. *THE diſcourſe concerning the Head of the Empire having held us longer than I expected, I ſhall paſs more lightly over the conſideration of the Members: Touching whom it ſeems neceſſary to me, that you ſpeak ſeparately of the Secular and the Eccleſiaſtical Lords, of the Gentlemen and the Imperial Cities. After which I ſhall entreat you to add a word concerning the Univerſities, the Cham-*

ber

bers or Courts of Juſtice, and concerning Tournaments. So then, though we have ſaid ſomething of the Electoral dignity, I ſhall not forbear to aſk you what I think requiſite for me to know of every Family in particular.

G. I ſhall willingly hear your demands, and ſatisfie them as well as I am able. Only I beſeech you to obſerve ſome order therein, that I may anſwer you with leſs difficulty, and you underſtand me with more eaſe.

P. *I ſhall do what you preſcribe as punctually as poſſibly I can: And to begin, I deſire you to tell me, who they are whom in* Germany *we call* The Eſtates of the Empire.

G. All they who are regiſtred in the Matriculation-roll, and aſſiſt the Emperour with their counſel in publick Aſſemblies, and with their purſe in his neceſſities, according to the diverſity of times and the cuſtom of *Germany*, are *the Eſtates of the Empire*: And whoſoever is not Matriculated, and contributes not to the neceſſities of the Empire, is not in the number of the *Eſtates*, though he be immediately ſubject to the Empire.

P. *What advantage have the* Eſtates of the Empire *above other* Germans?

G. All the *Eſtates of the Empire*, having voice in the general Aſſemblies where thoſe Laws are made that oblige all *Germany* to their obſervation, may alſo oppoſe any thing that may be to their prejudice, further any thing that is for their intereſt, take order that they be

be not oppreſſed, and concur to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch Laws as they ought to obſerve. Wherein they have far greater advantage than others, who are forced to ſubmit unto Laws made without them, which they neither had power to contradict, nor are ſo much as called to approve.

P. *Are there many that have voice and ſeat in the Aſſemblies?*

G. All the *Eſtates of the Empire*, who are the Electors, the Princes, the Prelates, the Counts, the Barons, and the Imperial Cities. And beſides the place and voice they have in general and particular Aſſemblies, they have alſo a certain right of Regality, and the priviledge of the *Auſtregues*, that is, a right not to be convented or brought before any but peculiar Judges.

P. *I thought that the Emperour alone had the right of Regality; that this right and Majeſty were one and the ſame thing; and that but few Counts and Barons had place and voice in the Aſſemblies.*

G. By the Counts and Barons which I told you had ſeat and ſuffrage in the Aſſemblies, you ſhould underſtand thoſe that are Eſtates of the Empire, and abſtract all others, even thoſe Lords to whom the Emperour gives the title of Prince in his Hereditary Countreys; who are in no ſmall number, the abuſe being grown to that height, that few or none are content with the title of Gentleman. As to the other part of your

your ſuppoſition, you ſhould take notice, that Soveraignty and Regalities are different things: Soveraignty is that which eſſentially conſtitutes the Emperour, that is, which makes him to be Emperour; and Regalities are the Adjuncts of Soveraignty, and the Rights which flow from it, as rivulets from their ſpring.

P. *I beſeech you explain your ſelf a little more.*

G. For the better underſtanding of what I have even now ſaid, you muſt note, that the word *Regality* is diverſly taken, to wit, 1. for great Lordſhips held in Fee of the Crown; 2. for Churches extraordinarily rich: 3. for the right of giving great Benefices: 4. for the Royal Enſigns which are carried before Kings, and put upon their heads and into their hands: and 5. for the Rights which have been given to Emperours for marks of a Soveraign eminence. Regalities may be alſo diſtinguiſhed into the greater and the leſſer: The greater are *Regalities of Dignity*, which relate to the Emperours perſon; the leſſer are *Regalities of Utility*, which regard his Treaſure. The great ones are incommunicable, the leſſer are communicable, and communicated to Princes, Lords, and Cities, to one more, to another leſs, according to the good pleaſure of the Emperours.

P. *I do not yet fully underſtand which be the* Regalities of Dignity; *I pray ſpeak a little more at large of them.*

G. The Regalities of Dignity are the immenſe

menſe power which the Emperour hath to give the tittle of King, Elector, Archduke, Duke, *&c.* to make Laws, to adminiſter Juſtice, and other ſuch like things.

P. *I think the Emperour hath communicated the right of adminiſtring Juſtice unto the Imperial Chambers of his Court and of* Spire.

G. That is true; but the power of the Chambers is no argument why the Emperour alone ſhould not be ſaid to have the Soveraign Right of adminiſtring Juſtice: For the Judge of thoſe Chambers bears the Imperial Scepter, to ſhow that he exerciſes the Emperours juriſdiction there; all judgments are pronounced there in his Majeſties name, and ſealed with his Arms: Which makes it clear, that all is done by his authority, and in his name.

P. *Was Juſtice always adminiſtred by the Soveraign Chambers which his Majeſty hath eſtabliſhed, the one in his Court, and the other at* Spire?

G. The Chamber of Juſtice or Parliament of the Empire was ambulatory till the time of *Maximilian* I. who taking pity of the parties that were neceſſitated to follow the Court, and ſeek for Juſtice there at great expences, at the requeſt of *Berchtold* Count of *Henneberg*, who was then Elector of *Mentz*, eſtabliſhed a Sedentary Chamber at *Wormes* in the year 1495. from whence it was ſoon after removed to *Spire*, but cannot be withdrawn from that place without the conſent of all the Eſtates.

P. *Doubt-*

P. *Doubtleſs the Emperour hath given an extraordinary juriſdiction to that Chamber; for I have heard ſay, that it hath concurrence of juriſdiction with his Majeſty.*

G. The Chamber of *Spire* can have no concurrent juriſdiction with the Emperour, unleſs it be that his Majeſty may concur with himſelf; for the juriſdiction of the Chamber is nothing elſe but the Emperours juriſdiction. Beſides, the Emperour hath not eſtabliſhed the Chamber to concur with him, but to adminiſter Juſtice in his name. For in transferring thither all the juriſdiction univerſally, for ſo much as concerns Civil cauſes, he hath ordered that nothing ſhall be diſpatched but in his name, and under his Seal. Whereby it is eaſie to judge, that there is a dependence, and not a concurrence of the Chamber of *Spire* with the Emperour; who alſo cauſeth the Aſſeſſors to be puniſhed when they tranſgreſs and ſwerve from their duty.

P. *Seeing the Emperour hath tranſmitted all his juriſdiction unto that Chamber, certainly it paſſeth judgement upon all things without appeal.*

G. Except Eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual matters (as the crimes of Hereſie, Adultery, and other ſuch like, the cognizance whereof belongs to the Church) that Chamber Judges finally and abſolutely of every thing: So that an appeal cannot be made unto the Emperour, and much leſs to the Pope, even in a cauſe of a

pious nature. And there is a Decree to be ſeen of the 20. *February* 1512. whereby one that appealed to the Pope was fined a hundred Marks of Gold. But this Chamber takes no knowledge in the firſt inſtance, but of the cauſes which concern ſome Immediate perſon, that is, immediately depending upon the Emperour.

P. *Are all Immediate perſons Eſtates of the Empire?*

G. The Gentlemen of *Swaben*, *Franconia*, the *Rhine*, and the lower *Alſatia*, are not Eſtates of the Empire, though they be immediately ſubject to the Emperour.

P. *Let us begin to ſpeak of the Eſtates of the Empire, and tell me, if you pleaſe, what was the original of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *how long it hath worn the Imperial Crown, into how many branches it is divided, by what means it became ſo potent, and what are its privi-ledges.*

G. You ask too many things at once; yet I will anſwer them. But that we may avoid confuſion, I will ſpeak ſeverally of that which you have propoſed conjunctly. And as to your firſt queſtion, I ſay, that flatterers think they can never raiſe the beginning of this Moſt *Auguſt* Houſe high enough, unleſs they fetch it from the *Trojan* horſe, and tracing the Fables of the old *Romans* invent a fine Genealogy from near 500. years before the birth of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Others would have it to deſcend from *Charlemagne* in a direct maſculine line. The moſt com-

mon

mon opinion is, that the Counts of *Habſpourg*, who wear the Imperial Crown at this preſent, are a branch of the Dukes of *Zeringuen*, from whom alſo the Marquiſſes of *Baden* are deſcended, and the Dukes of *Teck*, whoſe lands are paſſed by marriage into the Houſe of *Wirtemberg*.

P. *That which you ſay, is not out of controverſie; for a modern Authour affirms confidently, that the Archdukes of* Auſtria *and the Kings of* France *come both out of one and the ſame ſtock. But becauſe we deſire not to enter into diſpute, let us go forward; and tell me at what time thoſe Princes put the Imperial Crown upon their head.*

G. *Frederick* II. have paſt from this life to a better, the Empire continued ſome years without a Head: After which *Interregnum* all *Germany* eſteeming the virtue of *Rodolph* Count of *Habſpourg* worthy of the Empire, he was ſet upon the Throne in the year 1278. and reigned 18. *Rodolph* being dead, *Adolph* Count of *Naſſau* was choſen in his ſtead: But *Albert*, *Rodolphs* ſon, being now become Duke of *Auſtria* by the gift which his Father made him of that Principality, and Lord of *Carinthia* by the marriage which he contracted with *Elizabeth* inheritrice of that Province, becauſe he could not brook a Superiour, took arms, ſlew the Emperour *Adolph* in battel, and forced the Electors to put him into his place, in the year 1298. and ten years after on *May-day* 1308.

he was killed upon the high way by his Nephew *John* the ſon of *Rodolph*; and his ſucceſſors were no more admitted to that honour till the year 1438. in which *Albert* the Fifth Duke of *Auſtria*, and ſecond Emperour of that name, was raiſed to that dignity. He reigned no longer than one year, and was ſucceeded by *Frederick* III. his Couſin, who reigned 54 years, and got his ſon *Maximilian* I. to be Elected whileſt he lived. To *Maximilian Charles* V. his grandchild ſucceeded, and to *Charles Ferdinand* I. his Brother, from whom are deſcended in a right line of males all the Emperours that have reigned ever ſince his death, and ſtill raign happily to this day.

P. *I think the ſons of* Philip, *Archduke of* Auſtria, *Duke of* Burgundy, *divided that Houſe into two branches.*

G. That Houſe arriving to greatneſs by little and little, by the acquiſition of the Countreys of *Auſtria*, *Carinthia*, *Stiria*, *Tirol*, and *Alſatia*, was raiſed to a prodigious grandeur by the marriage of *Maximilian* of *Auſtria* with *Mary* of *Burgundy*, who brought him in Dowry the 17. Provinces of the Low-Countreys, with the Franche-County. And a little after, it acquired a great part of the World by the Marriage of *Jane* of *Spain* with *Philip* the ſaid *Maximilians* Son: For by the death of the Queen of *Portugal* her elder Siſter, *Jane* became heireſs of all that her Father and Mother had in *Spain*, and of the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicily*,

Sicily, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Sardinia*, and the New World. So that *Charles* V. ſeeing he had enough to ſatisfie the two branches ſeverally, quitted all that he had in *Germany* to his Brother *Ferdinand*, reſerving nothing thereof to himſelf, but the name of *Auſtria*, and gave his Son all his other Dominions, which are ſo great that the Sun never ſets upon them.

P. *You do not tell me, that* Philip *II. Son to* Charles *V. got the Kingdom of* Portugal *partly by right and partly by force, after the death of the King and Cardinal* Henry, *Unkle by the Fathers ſide to* Sebaſtian, *who was unfortunately loſt in* Africa *in the year* 1578.

G. I reſerve thoſe things to be ſpoken of when we ſhall travel into *Spain*; and then I ſhall tell you, that *Philip* II. having gotten the Kingdom of *Portugal*, with the Eaſt *Indies*, *Braſile*, the places of *Ceuta*, *Tanger*, *Marzagan*, many Iſles in the Ocean Sea, and all the Coaſts of *Africa*, under the great *Monomotapa*, many lands and fortreſſes beyond the Cape of Good Hope, in *Perſia*, *Arabia*, and the *Indies*; he and his Son poſſeſſed them proſperouſly. But *Philip* IV. his Grandchild loſt that Kingdom upon *Chriſtmas-day* 1640. and afterwards all that depended upon that Crown followed the ſway and revolution of *Portugal*.

P. *This Houſe being moſt mighty in* Europe, Africa, Aſia, *and* America, *and having the Imperial Crown upon its head ever ſince the year* 1438. *without intermiſſion, it muſt cer-*

tainly have priviledges unknown to other Houſes of Germany.

G. The Princes of this Houſe have received extraordinary mercies and advantages from God, from Nature, and from Men. From Nature, inaſmuch as they have all a long chin and thick lips; which is a Phyſiognomical mark of their Piety, Conſtancy, and Integrity. From God, inaſmuch as by giving a glaſs of water with their own hand to one that hath great Wens hanging at his throat, they cure him; and by kiſſing one that cannot ſpeak plain, they unlooſe his Tongue; nay, which is more, this Houſe having within 300. years afforded twelve Emperours, five Kings of *Spain*, and forty other Kings, Cardinals, Archdukes, and Dukes, there hath been never a Tyrant amongſt them all. As for the priviledges they have received from the Emperours of that Houſe, they can create Gentlemen, Barons, and Counts, through the whole Empire; and the Emperour cannot take from them the Lands they are ſeized of, to give them to another. The Archduke of *Auſtria* is the firſt and moſt intimate Privy Counſellor of the Empire, and his Principality is not ſubject to contributions. Theſe Princes, when they receive the lands they hold in Fee, are in Royal habit, wear an Archdukes Cap upon their head, pay nothing for their Inveſtiture, and are not ſubject to the Juſtice of the Empire. In Aſſemblies they take their place on the right hand of the Emperour, after the Electors,

Electors, before the Eccleſiaſtical Princes: If they be challenged to fight a Duel, they may take a Champion, though that priviledge be denied to their adverſary: And if all the Princes of this Houſe happen to fail, the eldeſt Daughter ſhall inherit all their Eſtate, and bring all theſe priviledges to her Husband.

P. *In real truth this Houſe hath done ſo many good Offices to the Empire, that I wonder not to ſee it priviledged above all others. Are theſe Princes many?*

G. No, but few: The King of *Spain* at the time we are now ſpeaking, which is the year 1657. hath but one Son; the Emperour two and one Brother; and the Archdukes of *Inſpruck* are two. Thus the branch of *Burgundy* is in danger to be totally extinguiſhed; but that of *Auſtria* is ſtrong enough ſtill, there being five young Princes of it.

That Emperour is ſince dead, as alſo his Brother, and one of his Sons.

P. *If the Branch of* Burgundy *ſhould totally fail, ſhould not that of* Auſtria *inherit?*

G. I believe of Right it ought to ſucceed; for it is no leſs deſcended of *Jane* of *Spain* than that of *Burgundy*: But being daughters inherit, it would be known, whether the heireſs of the Kingdom will not marry ſome other Prince; and whether a *Spaniſh* Lord will not have a mind to taſte ſo dainty a bit.

P. *It would be a great weakening of the Emperour, to take from him the ſtrong ſupport he*

hath always found in King Philips *Exchequer. Let us now look, if you pleaſe upon the* Palatine *Houſe.*

G. By your demands you oblige me to follow the order which the Princes obſerve in their ſitting at the Aſſemblies. After the Houſe of *Auſtria* that of the *Palatine* holds the firſt rank without diſpute. This Houſe enjoyes the firſt Electorſhip, and the firſt place amongſt the Secular Electors after the King of *Bohemia*: And the younger brethren of the *Palatine* Houſe, who have place in the Aſſemblies, take it immediately after the ſecular Electors, as the Archdukes do after the Eccleſiaſticks. Now all the Princes of this Houſe are deſcended from two Emperours, whoſe Nephews make two principal Branches, both very Potent and Illuſtrious, but of different Religions, and perchance no very great friends, ſince they that are ſprung from *Lewis* of *Bavaria* wear the Electoral Cap which belonged to the deſcendents of the Emperour *Robert*: And that change came to paſs becauſe *Frederick* V. Elector of the *Rhine*, not regarding the Election that was made of *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, accepted the Crown of *Bohemia*, whereby he kindled thoſe fires and forged thoſe irons that have waſted our Countrey for above 30. years.

P. *I have already heard ſay, that the* Bohemians *drew upon themſelves and us the miſchiefs of the laſt War by the Election they made of two Kings, when they had but one Kingdom*

to

to beſtow. Let us therefore paſs by thoſe cauſes of our evils; and according to your accuſtomed method, tell me ſomething of the Original, of the priviledges, of the greatneſs, and of the alliances of this Houſe.

G. Many Writers fetch the Original of theſe Princes out of the loines of *Charlemagne*, and follow the Genealogie down from him to thoſe that are living at this day. For my part, I know not what to think of it, and therefore refer my ſelf to real evidence. Yet I dare confidently affirm, that the Houſe is very ancient; and that ſince the year 1253. in which *Otho Witelpachius* Count of *Shiern* married *Agnes* heireſs of the *Palatine* and *Bavaria*, this Houſe hath poſſeſſed thoſe two great Principalities, with the quality of Elector, and great Steward of the Empire. It hath given two Emperours to *Germany*, one King to *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway* joyntly, and another to *Sweden* alone: Without counting I know not how many Generals, who have commanded armies in *Italy*, *Hungary*, *France* and *England*.

P. *At what time did thoſe Princes raign in* Germany, Denmark, *and* Sweden?

G. Lewis of *Bavaria* was choſen Emperour the 18. of *October* 1314. and having Raigned gloriouſly 23. years, made room for *Charles* of *Luxembourg* the IV. of that name, who left *Wenceſlaus* his Succeſſor, and he by his intolerable negligence forced the Electors to put *Robert* Elector *Palatine* into his place, a man low

of

of Stature, but of ſo great courage, that the Empire could have wiſhed him endued with immortality, if that were to be found here below. But he dyed the 18. of *May* 1410. having Reigned ten years. And *Chriſtopher* his Grandchild was choſen King of *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway* in the year 1430. and dyed without heirs 1448. But *Charles Guſtavus*, Son of *John Caſimir* a younger Brother to the Duke of *Zweybruck* or *Deux-ponts*, Reigns at this preſent in *Sweden* with as much glory as any one of his predeceſſors, and hath a Son of *Hedwig Eleonor* Daughter to *Frederick* Duke of *Holſtein*.

P. *This Houſe deſcending from two Emperours very renowned in Hiſtory, and having ſo many and ſuch brave Princes at preſent worthy to be Emperours, I wiſh them thoſe Crowns they deſerve to wear, and deſire you to tell me, whether it enjoys more priviledges than the other Electoral Houſes.*

G. The Electors have very great priviledges, and the Golden Bull ordains for them all in general, and every one in particular, that no man appeal from their Juſtice to any other whatſoever: Yet none of them have preſerved this Right entire to them, but the Electors of *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, and of the *Rhine*. They can all together chuſe an Emperour, and depoſe him when he is lazy and negligent. They have right to preſcribe a Capitulation to the Emperour when they have choſen him, and to oblige

oblige him to ſwear to the obſervation thereof. Moreover, they can meet together once every year, without asking leave of any one, and conſult in that Aſſembly concerning the publick and their own private affairs. Beſides this Right which relates to the whole Electoral College, the *Palatine* and the *Saxon* are Vicars of the Empire; and as ſuch, they can legitimate Baſtards as well of great men as of inferiour perſons, create Notaries and Tabellions, confer the Benefices which are in the Emperours nomination, give Inveſtiture of lands held in Fee, except of Dukedoms, and of the Principalities which in *Germany* are called *Fanſlehen* (becauſe when the Emperour gives them, he puts a ſtandard into the hand of him that receives them) and which is moſt conſiderable, the Elector *Palatine* can redeem what the Emperour hath ſold or engaged, at the ſame value for which it was ſold or engaged; and which is yet more, the Emperour may be convented for Debt before this Elector.

P. *The ancient Emperours gave demonſtration of a meekneſs without example, in ſubmitting themſelves to the juſtice of one that is a Subject of the Empire.*

G. No man would deal with Soveraigns, if they did not oblige themſelves in Civil matters to ſome way of Juſtice; and in this caſe the Emperours have been willing that the Elector *Palatine* ſhould be their Judge: But if the Emperour be accuſed of Mal-adminiſtration,

the

the judgement thereupon belongs to all the Electoral Colledge; in which caſe the Elector *Palatine* is Director of the Proceſs, and not he of *Mentz*, though he be Dean of the Electoral Colledge.

P. *Certainly this is no ſmall honour to the* Palatine *Houſe; but wherein conſiſts its greatneſs?*

G. If theſe Princes did all aim at the benefit, advancement, and glory of the whole Houſe in general, and if there were no hatred between the Branches; *Bavaria*, the upper and lower *Palatinate* the *Landgraveſhip* of *Leutchtemburg*, the Lordſhips of *Simmeren*, of *Deux-Ponts*, and of *Weldents*, the Dutchy of *Juliers*, the Archbiſhoprick of *Collen*, the Biſhopricks of *Liege*, *Hildeſheim*, and *Freiſinguen*, which this Houſe poſſeſſeth at this time, would make it formidable to all its enemies, as well by reaſon of its vaſt forces, as becauſe it hath three voices in the Electoral Colledge, and at the leaſt eight or ten in that of the Princes.

P. *I know that the Elector of* Bavaria *in the quality of Duke hath the firſt voice among the Secular Princes, that Duke* Albert *his Unkle hath one as Landgrave of* Leuchtemberg, *that the* Palatine *of* Simmeren *hath another, and he of* Newbourg *two, and it may be ſome other younger Brethren of the Houſe have voices alſo for* Deux-ponts, *in like manner as for the Biſhopricks of* Heldeſheim, Liege, *and* Freiſinguen. *But tell me ſomething of the alliances of this Houſe.*

G. It

G. It is allied to all the great Families not only of the Empire, but of *Europe*. The Emperour *Ferdinand* II. married in the firſt year of the Century current *Mary Anne*, Daughter to *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, by whom he had iſſue *Mary Anne* Wife to *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, *Cecily* Wife to *Vladiſlaus* IV. King of *Poland*, *Ferdinand* III. Emperour, who had for his firſt Wife *Mary Infanta* of *Spain*, and by her *Mary Anne* Wife to *Philip* IV. King of *Spain*. On the other ſide *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, Son of *William* and of *Renata* of *Lorraine*, left a ſon who in the year 1650. Married *Adelaïs* Daughter to *Victor Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy* and to *Chriſtina* of *France*, who is allied by conſanguinity to all the greateſt Kings and Princes in Chriſtendom.

P. Theſe are indeed very great Alliances.

G. But this is not all. *Frederick* V. Elector *Palatine* in the year 1613. Married *Elizabeth* Daughter of *James* King of Great *Brittain*, and by reaſon of her the Houſe became allied to the Kings of *England* and *Denmark*. *Philip Lewis* his Brother in the year 1631. Married *Mary Eleonor* Daughter to *Joachim Frederick* Elector of *Brandenbourg*; and his Siſter *Elizabeth Charllotta* was given in marriage to *George William* Elector of *Brandenbourg*, *July* 14. 1626. *Philip William* Duke of *Newbourg* his firſt Wife was *Anne Catherine* Daughter to *Sigiſmond* King of *Poland*; and *John Caſimir* was the worthy Husband of *Catherine* Daughter to

Charles

Charles, and Mother to *Charles Guſtavus* Ki
of *Sweden*. From whence it may eaſily be ſee
that few Houſes in *Europe* are better allied th
this, which, beſides what we have newly me
tioned, is of kin to the Houſes of *Heſſe*, *Gonzag*
Bourbon, *Naſſau*, *Saxony*, *Juliers*, *Wirtember*
Rohan, and many others.

P. *Is not this Elector Palatine* Charles Lew
Married?

G. I forgot to tell you, that this Princ
who at leaſt equals, if he doth not go beyon
all his Anceſtors in Prudence and Magnanimit
hath taken to wife *Charlotta* the worthy Daug
ter of the incomparable *Amelia Elizabet*
Landgraveſs of *Heſs*; which is ſufficient to ſa
that he could not have made a better choic
Edward this Electors Brother Married *An*
Daughter to *Charles* Duke of *Mantua* a
Neuers; and *Henrietta* their ſiſter dyed a li
tle after ſhe was Married to the Prince of *Tra*
ſylvania: His other Brethren and Siſters a
yet to Marry. *Robert* and *Maurice* have give
proof of their ability and courage upon occaſ
ons almoſt without number; and the Princeſſe
Elizabeth, *Loüyſe*, and *Sophia*, have made ski
ful Maſters confeſs, that the Sciences have no
thing ſo ſublime, nor Picture-drawing any thi
ſo marvellous, but the wit and hand of the
Ladies have been able to reach it.

P. *I hope you will make me a long recita*
of the Genealogies of great perſons; and tha
you will not omit theſe Alliances, and theſe Illu
ſtrio

ſtrious Princes and Ladies: But that it may be done with the leſs trouble, I ſhall be content to hear you diſcourſe it at your leiſure. Let us paſs, if you pleaſe, into Saxony; *and do me the favour to tell me what you know of that Electoral Houſe.*

G. There is not any Houſe in *Europe* more glorious than that of *Saxony*. It reſtored the honour of the Empire after the race of *Charlemagne* had loſt its firſt vigour; and under one *Henry* and three *Otho's* it confirmed the Imperial dignity unto *Germany*; it conquered many enemies, gave Princes to *Savoy*, and (if it be true, that *Hugh Capet* was deſcended from this Houſe) it hath likewiſe furniſhed *France* with their Kings.

P. *Do not the Kings of Denmark alſo come from* Witikind *of* Saxony?

G. It is ſaid that the Counts of *Oldenbourg* are a branch of this great Stock; and it is moſt certain, that after the death of *Chriſtopher* III. the Danes would have choſen *Adolph* Duke of *Schleswick*, who would not accept of the Crown in regard of his great age, declaring that ſuch an honour would be better placed upon the perſon of *Chriſtian* Count of *Oldenburg* his Grandchild and heir apparent. The Danes taking this counſel, and admiring the generoſity of him that gave it, choſe *Chriſtian* the firſt of that name, whoſe poſterity Raigns at this day in *Denmark Norway*, *Schleswick*, *Holſtein*, *Stormar* and *Dithmarſh*.

P. *We*

P. *We will take another time to ſpeak of the Kings of* France *and* Denmark, *and of the Dukes of* Savoy. *It will be ſufficient for the preſent to inform me, when the Electoral Cap was firſt brought into this Houſe, into how many branches it is divided, how many voices it hath in the Diets, and what are its principal forces and alliances.*

G. The Emperour *Sigismond* knowing the merit of *Frederick* the Warlike Marquiſs of *Miſnia*, and the obligation that the Empire had to his Predeceſſors, charged *Erick* V. of the Houſe of *Saxon-Lawembourg* for having lapſed his due time of demanding the Inveſtiture of the Electorſhip, which his Anceſtors had poſſeſſed ever ſince the year 1180. and transferred the ſame upon the forenamed *Frederick* on *Twelfth-day* 1423. Since that time this Houſe hath without interruption poſſeſſed the Electoral dignity, with the Dutchy of *Saxony*, the Marquiſate of *Miſnia*, and the Landgraveſhip of *Thuringia*: And by a further accumulation of good fortune, it inherited the Principality of *Henneberg*; nay, ſince the laſt War of *Bohemia* the Emperour gave the upper and lower *Luſatia* to *John George* Elector of this Houſe, who died the 8. of *October* 1656. and was interred the 4. of *February* 1657. with more than Regal pomp, there being 3500. perſons in mourning, and 24. Horſes of State covered with black, and the Electoral Eſcutecheon embroidered thereon, every one of them led by two Gentlemen.

P. *In*

P. *In a late diſcourſe concerning the valiant actions of Duke* Bernard Weymar, *it was ſaid that he loved not the Houſe of* Auſtria, *becauſe it took the Electoral dignity from that branch.*

G. It is true, that *John Frederick* ſurnamed the Magnanimous, having taken arms for the liberty of Religion, was deprived of his dignity by the Emperour *Charles* V. who took him priſoner near *Wirtemberg*, and gave the Electorate to *Maurice*, in the year 1547. Thus paſſed this dignity into another branch, and the elder became younger Brethren. For this cauſe there was but little confidence and kindneſs between the Princes of this Houſe: But as there is no grief which is not diminiſhed by length of time, even ſo the bitterneſs between theſe Princes hath been ſweetned, and they ſeem to be entirely reconciled: For *Frederick William* Duke of *Altembourg* took for his ſecond Wife *Magdalen Sibylla* Daughter to *John George* the Elector laſt deceaſed; and *Maurice* Son to the ſame Elector hath Married *Dorothy Mary* Daughter to *William* Duke *Weymar*, eldeſt Son of that matchleſs *Bernard*, whoſe praiſes you have heard.

P. *For ſo much as I perceive, this Houſe is divided into many branches.*

G. Not counting the Kings of *France* and *Denmark*, and the Dukes of *Savoy*, who are the illuſtrious Ciens that ſprung out of this great Tree, the Electoral Houſe of *Saxony* is

divided into two principal branches, in each whereof there have been ſix Electors. The laſt of the firſt branch loſt the Electoral dignity, becauſe he was unſuccesful in making War for the liberty of *Germany* againſt *Charles* V. and the firſt of the ſecond branch left the Electoral Cap unto his Brother and his poſterity, for having happily taken and born arms in favour of his Countrey againſt the ſame Emperour.

P. *I pray make this buſineſs out a little clearer to me.*

G. *Frederick* III. of that name, Elector of *Saxony*, having taken Doctor *Luther* under his protection, left both his dignity and zeal entailed upon his Son *John* the Conſtant, who likewiſe tranſmitted them both to *John Frederick* ſurnamed the Magnanimous. Now it came to paſs that *Charles* V. moved with a zeal for the Catholick Religion, endeavoured to make the Proteſtants ſubmit to the doctrine of *Rome*, which *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* vigorouſly oppoſed: But on the other ſide *Maurice* Son to *Henry* the Pious Couſin to this Elector, deſiring to fiſh in troubled water, and do his own buſineſs, took part with the Emperour, and while that War laſted, taking the advantage of *John Fredericks* abſence, entred upon ſome of his Forts and Caſtles. For which cauſe the Elector retreated out of *Sweben*, and came to ſuccour his own Territories. The Emperour purſued him, beat him, took him priſoner, and ſtript him of his Electorſhip, with

with which he inveſted *Maurice.* Not long after, a fear was awakened in *Maurice* his mind, leſt *Germany* might loſe its liberty, and the Proteſtants their Religion; whereupon he asked leave of *Philip Langrave* of *Heſſe*, and though he could not obtain it, yet he made himſelf Head of a Confederacy which forced the Emperour to an accommodation of greater advantage to the *Lutherans.* A little after, *Maurice* died of the wounds he had received in a battel fought between him and *Albert* Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg.* This Prince was ſucceeded in the Electorſhip by *Auguſtus* his Brother, who having raigned till the firſt of *October*, 1585. left the Electoral Cap to *Chriſtian* I. Father of *Chriſtian* II. and *John George* the firſt of that name, who died in the year 1656. and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son.

P. *So the Deſcendents of* John Frederick *the Magnanimous loſt the Electorſhip for his undertaking the defence of the Lutheran Religion.*

G. So it was indeed; and that Prince is ſo much the more to be admired, that during his impriſonment, and after he had loſt all, he exhorted every man to conſtancy, and opened his purſe liberally towards the relief of thoſe that were perſecuted for matter of Religion. This great perſonage coming out of his captivity, which had continued five years, received his lands again (which his Succeſſors poſſeſs at this day) and among others left two Sons, the elder of whom called by his Fathers name *John*

Frederick, having entertained ſome Rebels in his Fortreſs of *Gotta*, was beſieged there, taken, and deprived of his eſtate, which yet was reſtored to *John Caſimir* and *John Erneſt* his children. The younger of the foreſaid Electors children, called *John William*, bare arms for the aſſiſtance of *Henry* II. King of *France*; and afterwards retired to *Weymar*, where he Married *Dorothy Suſan*, Daughter to *Frederick* III. Elector Palatine, by whom he had two Sons; from the elder of which comes *Frederick William*, who reſides at *Altembourg*; and from the younger the Dukes of *Weymar* and *Gotta* are deſcended, who are the only ſurvivors of ten children that he had, of whom the undaunted *Bernard* was the youngeſt.

P. *I have heard ſay, there is ſome diſpute for precedency between the Duke of* Altembourg, *and thoſe of* Weymar *and* Gotta *his Couſins.*

G. In this point there is no regard had to the proximity of blood, becauſe there is no yielding in part without loſing all. However this diſpute was determined upon theſe terms, That Duke *Frederick William* ſhould precede as long as he lived, and after his death the moſt aged ſhould have that preference, without reſpect had to any thing elſe: For in the Houſe of *Saxony* there being no right of Elderſhip, all the Princes are equal, and amongſt perſons of equal condition age only gives the precedency. And it is to be underſtood that there is no regard

gard had to the right of primogeniture, but inaſmuch as it concerns the Electorſhip, in which caſe the neareſt kinſman inherits it.

P. John Caſimir *and* John Erneſt *Sons of* John Frederick *II. of that name (who, as you have mentioned above, was kept priſoner in the Fortreſs of* Gotta*) did they leave no children?*

G. No; and their Principalities were divided among their Couſins: So as Duke *Frederick William* had the Dutchy of *Cobourg*, and thoſe of *Weymar* and *Gotta* had that of *Eiſenach*. By means whereof they are all well enough: but as it is the cuſtom of theſe Princes to ſhare their lands equally, the lots may chance to become very little; for *William* Duke of *Weymar* hath four ſons; and *Erneſt* reſiding at *Gotta*, ſeven.

P. *I perceive then, that the Deſcendents of the Elector* John Frederick *are divided into three branches, and after the death of their Fathers they will be ſub-divided into three times as many. The Nephews of the Elector* Auguſtus *will do no leſs; ſince they are four, and likely to have more Children. I would willingly know out of what Houſes they took their Wives, and what every one of them obtained for his part after the death of the Father.*

G. John George Elector of *Saxony*, Father of another *John George*, and of *Auguſtus*, *Chriſtian* and *Maurice*, died in the year 1656. and bequeathed by his laſt Will to *Auguſtus* Adminiſtrator of *Magdebourg* twelve Bailywicks

about *Hall*, and in *Thuringia*; to *Chriſtian*, the Dioceſe of *Marsbourg*, and ſome lands in *Fordland*, *Voidland*, and in the Mountains, to *Maurice*, beſides the Dioceſes of *Naumbourg* and *Zeitz*, all that his Electoral Highneſs pretended to in the Principality of *Henneberg*; and to *John George*, who is Elector, beſides the lands inſeparable from the Electoral dignity, he gave the upper and lower *Luſatia*, with ſome Bailywicks about *Dreſden*. Ordering likewiſe that every one of theſe Princes ſhould equally participate of the ready money, Artillery, and the Utenſils and equipage of Hunting, which he left.

P. *Queſtionleſs thoſe Princes muſt have found a vaſt Treaſure; for that Elector cauſed much money to be coined, and ſo locked it up, that very little of it was ſeen abroad. Tell me now ſomething of the Marriage of theſe Princes and of their Siſters.*

G. The Siſters of theſe Princes are ſtill living, and the eldeſt is Married to *George Landgrave* of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, the ſecond to *Frederick* Duke of *Holſtein*, and the youngeſt to *Frederick William* Duke of *Altembourg*. The Elector was Married the 13. of *November* 1638. to *Magdelen Sibyll* Daughter to *Chriſtian* Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg*, and hath had one Son by her of his own name, born the 20. of *June* 1647. *Auguſtus* took to Wife *November* 23. 1647. *Anne Mary* Daughter to *Adolph Fredrick* Duke of *Meklebourg*, and hath three Sons by

by her. *Chriſtian* and *Maurice* were Married upon the ſame day; the firſt to *Chriſtina*, and the ſecond to *Sophia Hedwig*, ſiſters, and Daughters to *Philip* Duke of *Holſtein*: by whom *Chriſtian* hath two Sons and one Daughter; and his Brother hath had Children, but they are dead, as is the Mother alſo. Theſe are all the Princes of *Saxony*, who have their habitations at *Dreſden*, at *Hall*, at *Marsbourg*, and at *Naumbourg*; that is, all the Deſcendents of the Elector *Auguſtus*. They of the other Line, which (as we have ſaid) was the principal, are *Frederick William* Duke of *Altembourg*, husband to *Magdelen Sibyll* Daughter to *John George* Elector of *Saxony*, by whom he hath a Son and a Daughter; *William* Duke of *Weymar*, Couſin to the former, husband to *Eleonor Dorothy* Daughter to *John George* Prince of *Anhalt*; and *Erneſt* his Brother, reſiding at *Gotta*, who Married *October* 24. 1636. *Elizabeth Sophia* Daughter to *John Philip* Duke of *Saxony*. By which you ſee the alliances of theſe Princes, as heretofore you learnt the number of their Children. For what concerns the voices they have in the Aſſemblies; beſides that of the Elector, the Adminiſtrator of *Magdebourg*, hath one, the Duke of *Altembourg*, two; they of *Weymar* and *Gotta*, each of them one; and all together one for the Principality of *Henneberg*.

P. *How did the* Saxons *come to inherit that Principality?*

G. The Counts of *Henneberg* having flouriſhed for above 800. years, the Emperour offered

fered them the quality of Prince, which they accepted. But as things of this World are of ſhort continuance, that Houſe failed totally in the year 1583. and that of *Saxony* took poſſeſſion of the eſtate by virtue of a Confraternity made between thoſe Princes in the year 1554. This Principality is ſituated partly upon the Mountain and Foreſt of *Thuringia*, partly on this ſide towards *Franconia*. It remains undivided ſtill, becauſe the Elector, who hath five eighth ſhares in it, hath not been willing to make partitions in ſeveralty, as the Dukes of *Altembourg*, *Weymar*, and *Gotta* deſired him to do. This Countrey lies very commodiouſly for the Princes of *Saxony*, becauſe it joyns their Landgraveſhip of *Thuringia* with the lands they hold in *Franconia*, and gives them a paſſage of great difficulty in that Mountain. To conclude, this Houſe is potent by the extent and fertility of its lands, by the great number of Nobility there inhabiting, by its good mines of Silver and Copper, and by the excellent Fortreſſes of *Leipſick*, *Wittenberg*, *Dreſden*, *Konigſtein*, and many others, which put theſe Princes above parallel, as well as that Soveraign Juſtice they all exerciſe upon their own lands, from which no man is allowed to appeal.

P. *By what I underſtand, theſe Princes are to be reckoned amongſt the firſt and greateſt of the Empire, as well becauſe the moſt Illuſtrious think themſelves happy if they can derive their Origin from this Houſe, as alſo becauſe they are very*

very highly priviledged. And if I be not miſtaken, the Marquiſſes of Brandenbourg *have no great cauſe to envy them.*

G. I do not know of any King that comes in a direct Male Line from the Marquiſſes of *Brandenburg*: Nevertheleſs this Houſe is allied to all the great ones of Chriſtendom, and is no leſs potent than thoſe that are the moſt eſteemed in the Empire. It hath the Dutchies of *Pruſſia* and *Cleve*, the Principalities of *Halberſtad*, *Minden*, *Sculemberg*, and *Anſpach*, the Moyety of *Pomerania*, the expectance or next reverſion of the Dutchy of *Magdeburg*, the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* whereto the Electoral dignity is annexed; in a word, it hath ſo much land, that to put it beyond compariſon in *Germany*, there remains nothing to be wiſht, but that the Eſtates thereof were contiguous.

P. *Are theſe lands very diſtant one from another?*

G. They are not ſo far off, but that a Courier ſetting out from *Cleve* to ride to this Elector in the furtheſt parts of *Pruſſia*, may lye almoſt every night in his Maſters Territories, from the Countrey of *Cleve* into that of *Juliers*, from thence into the County of the *Mark*, ſo to *Ravensburg*, out of which he enters into the Dioceſe of *Minden*, and from thence into the Principality of *Halberſtad*, from whence he reacheth the New Marquiſate at night, and ſo of the reſt, paſſing on through *Pomerania*. All which voyage is two hundred *German* leagues

leagues long, wherein he is not to be equalled by any Prince in *Germany*.

P. *The Reformed Religion, whereof this Elector makes profeſſion, differing from that of his Subjects, he is thereby leſs powerful in my opinion; and if he would embrace the Lutheran, which his Grandfather forſook, and (as many believe) only out of worldly conſiderations, he would enlarge his power, and (if I be not deceived) his Subjects would have more confidence in him.*

G. This Prince is Reformed, and all his Subjects, except thoſe of *Cleve*, follow the Doctrine of *Luther*; but that abates not either the Princes love toward his Subjects, or the Subjects obedience toward their Prince. His Electoral Highneſs hath Preaching within his Palace after his way, and permits the Lutherans to teach their Doctrine through all his Eſtates. Now the diverſity of Religion between Kings and their Subjects is little prejudicial to a State, except when they would lay violence upon conſciences, and force men in that which ought to be free.

P. *I am of another opinion, and am perſwaded that difference in Religion hath poured out thoſe deluges of blood which our Fathers and we have ſeen with horror in* France *and* Germany.

G. It is moſt certain, that Religion hath coſt many thouſand mens lives; that it were to be wiſht, there were but one Religion in a State;

State; and that *Philip* the Prudent II. of that name, King of *Spain*, did many times ſay, he had rather not have a Countrey, than have it infected with Hereſie. I do alſo grant, that *France* and *Germany* were in danger to periſh in their blood, by reaſon of different Religions; but it was only when endeavours were uſed to force men to go to Maſs againſt their will, or to deprive Princes of the means to maintain their Subjects in the liberty of their conſcience. Otherwiſe Religion is a ſtrong bulwark for the preſervation of both thoſe States; and the *Spaniard* did not loſe his hope of attaining to the Monarchy of *Europe*, till he ſaw the Reformation ſtop the paſſage againſt his Gold as well as againſt his Armies.

P. *I have heard it ſaid, that when* Henry *the Great came to the Crown of* France, *all the Catholicks of* Europe *bandied their power to hinder him from ſitting upon the Throne, and that he had not arrived thither, but by his valour accompanied with his Right, and with the ſervices which he received from the Proteſtants; but I do not ſee wherein diverſity of Religion is beneficial to* Germany, *ſince the miſeries of the laſt War proceeded from no other ſource but that.*

G. *Germany* receives no leſs advantage from the Reformation of *Luther*, than *France* from that of *Calvin*. The Empire had been Hereditary before this time, and the Princes become Subjects, if the Reformation, and the deſire of maintain-

maintaining Religion had not opened our eyes. The *Italians*, who are very clear-ſighted in matters of State, have perceived this long ſince; and *Bocalini* when he brings in *Apollo* making anſwer to Sir *Thomas Moore*, that all people will be Catholicks when the King of *Spain* will be content with *Caſtile*, and the Emperour with the County of *Habſbourg*, ſhows manifeſtly that Religion defends us from ſlavery.

P. *This digreſſion hath not been unpleaſant to me; and I believe, as you do, that Religion and the State do mutually ſupport one the other. But do not forget to tell me ſomething of the beginning, progreſs, priviledges, immunities, and alliances of the Houſe of* Brandenbourg, *of which you have begun to ſpeak already.*

G. All they that diſcourſe of this Houſe, make it the Head, or a Member of the *Colonna*'s of *Rome:* As for me, who cannot be perſwaded that the great Houſes of *Germany* came out of *Italy*, but on the contrary (following the judgment of *Thomas Lanſius*) hold it for certain that many great Families of *Italy* came out of *Germany* ſince the time of *Charles* the great; I am of their opinion, who would make *Peter Colonna* that built the ſtrong Caſtle of *Zolleren* (from which the firſt Counts of this Family took their name) to deſcend from the ancient *Guelphes*, that is, from the Dukes of *Brunſwick:* which being ſo, this Houſe gives place

place to never a one in the Empire for greatneſs of Origin.

P. *They that pretend to honour our Houſes of* Germany *by fetching them either out of the* Trojan *Horſe, or the ruines of* Rome, *do not know that the Ancient* Germans *are of more worth than the fugitive* Trojans, *and the effeminate* Romans. *But I am of your opinion, and deſire only to be informed, how theſe Lords acquired the Honours and Eſtates which they poſſeſs.*

G. The Emperour *Rodolph* of *Habſpourg*, being deſirous to give ſome teſtimony of the value he put upon his Nephew *Frederick* Count of *Hohenzolleren*, made him Burgrave of *Nuremberg* in the year 1273. and 156. years after, upon the 18. of *April* the Emperour *Sigiſmond* raiſed *Frederick* V. Burgrave of *Nuremberg* to the Electoral dignity, to recompenſe him for the acceptable ſervices he had done in the War of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*: So the Princes of *Anhalt* who had obtained that Electorſhip by the favour of the Emperour *Conrade* the III. of that name, in the year 1152. loſt it by incurring the diſpleaſure of the Emperour *Sigiſmond*. Some while after, certain differences ariſing between the Houſes of *Brandenbourg* and *Pomerania*, they fell to open Hoſtility, and at laſt to an agreement expreſly declaring, That in caſe the Houſe of *Pomerania* hapned to fail, the Marquiſſes of *Brandenbourg* ſhould poſſeſs the Principalities that belonged to it; and *Al-*

bert

bert of *Brandenbourg*, from great Maſter of the Knights *Marianites* (as he was) making himſelf abſolute Prince of *Pruſſia*, received the Inveſtiture thereof from the King of Poland. The Dutchies of *Juliers*, *Cleve*, and *Berg*, with the Counties of the *Mark* and *Ravensbourg*, were divided between the Elector *John Sigiſmond* and *Wolfgang William* Duke of *Newbourg*, ſome time after the War which thoſe Principalities occaſioned in the year 1610. As for that which this Houſe poſſeſſes in *Franconia*, it is their ancient patrimony.

P. *Why did not the Elector of* Brandenbourg *take poſſeſſion of* Pomerania *as ſoon as that Houſe was totally extinct?*

G. The Elector neglected not his Right, and would willingly have taken poſſeſſion of that great Principality, if it had not been in the hands of the *Swedes*: But the Crown of *Sweden* being victorious in *Germany*, and deſirous to keep footing there, would not hearken to any peace, but upon condition of leaving this Maritime Province to them, it lying very conveniently for them. Therefore as Conquerours uſe to give the Law, the *Sweeds* kept the choiceſt of this Province, and left the Doctrine of *Calvin* with a part of *Pomerania* unto this Elector; who by way of recompenſe for his loſs, obtained the Biſhopricks of *Halberſtad* and *Minden*, and the expectance or reverſion of the Archbiſhoprick of *Magdebourg*, converted into Principalities.

P. *I*

P. *I wonder why they ſhould give this Elector three Principalities for the moyety of one; and why the Archbiſhoprick of* Magdebourg *was not delivered into his hands immediately after the Peace, as well as thoſe two other Biſhopricks.*

G. I do not think the Lower *Pomerania*, which the Elector hath quitted to the *Swedes*, yields ſo good a revenue as the Principalities of *Magdebourg*, *Halberſtad*, and *Minden*: Nevertheleſs I am perſwaded, this Elector would rather have had that part of *Pomerania*, than the three Principalities which he received in lieu of it; by reaſon of the Sea-force he had thereby gotten, and the inconvenience of having a potent Neighbour that keeps him in perpetual jealouſie. And therefore the States of the Empire having regard to thoſe conſiderations, have given him voices in the Aſſemblies, as Duke of *Pomerania* and of *Magdebourg*, and as Prince of *Halberſtad* and of *Minden*. Now becauſe heretofore the Archbiſhops of *Magdebourg* and *Bremen* took their turns in the Direction of the Circle of Lower *Saxony*, this Elector doth in like manner alternate at this day with the King of *Sweden* in the ſame quality. As to your other ſcruple, why the Dutchy of *Magdebourg* was not preſently put into his hands; you ought to remember, that *Auguſtus* youngeſt Son of the Elector of *Saxony* being in poſſeſſion of it, it was not thought meet to diſpoſſeſs him thereof ſo long as he lived.

P. *The* Gazette *hath often made mention of the difference between the Houses of* Brandenbourg *and* Newbourg *for the Dutchies of* Juliers, Cleve, *and* Berg; *yet I could never learn the ground of it. Do me the favour to tell me from whence that contest proceeds.*

G. You are entring into a Labyrinth, out of which *Adriadne*'s clew will not bring us back, if we pass further on. Let it content you then if you please, to know that all the Dukes of *Saxony*, many Princes Palatine, and amongst others the King of *Sweden*, bear the name and Armes of those Principalities; and that it is to be feared, they may one day kindle a flame to consume a good part of the Empire. *Franskim* Chancellor of *Gotta* hath made a long narration of this matter in his Treatise of diverse Resolutions, to whom I refer you. It is sufficient for you at the present to learn, that if the Fief follow the Males, and that the Daughters neither can nor ought to inherit the same, the Dukes of *Saxony* have a better right to it than any other person; because they obtained the survivorship of the House of *Juliers* in recompense of the services which *Albert* the Couragious did the Emperour and the Empire against *Matthias Corvin* King of *Hungary*, who molested *Austria*; and against *Charles* the Brave Duke of *Burgundy*, who had laid siege to *Neus*, and laboured to bring all the Archbishoprick of *Collen* under his Jurisdiction. This grant was made to *Albert* by the Emperour *Frederick* III.

June

June 16. 1483. and afterwards confirmed and amplified in the perſon and poſterity of *Erneſt* Duke of *Saxony* by *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, *September* 18. 1486. and by him again after he was Emperour, in the year 1495. But in caſe it be ſuppoſed that Females may inherit thoſe Fiefs, it will be then demanded, whether this Priviledge which was granted to *Mary* only Daughter to *William* Duke of *Juliers*, ought to be extended unto *Mary Eleonor* her Daughter, and to the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* and his Succeſſors; or rather to *Anne* only, Niece to the ſaid *Mary Eleonor*, excluding *Magdalen* Wife to *John* Duke of *Deux-ponts*, and *Sibyll* Marchioneſs of *Burgon*, her Siſters (Daughters to *William*, and Siſters to *John William* the laſt of that Family, Duke of *Juliers* and *Cleve*) who received the ſame priviledge from the Emperour *Charles* V. in the year, 1546.

P. *It is then the inheritance of* John William *Duke of* Juliers, *which ſerved for a pretenſe to the vaſt preparation that* Henry *IV. King of* France *made when he was unfortunately aſſaſſinated; which hath already occaſioned ſome miſunderſtandings between the Houſes of* Brandenbourg *and* Newbourg; *and which may yet cauſe greater. But let us leave theſe intricacies to be diſentangled by thoſe that are concerned, and take a further view of the immunities, priviledges, and Alliances of the Houſe of* Brandenbourg.

G. The Golden Bull, which hath in all things been exceeding liberal and free of the graces of the Empire towards the Electors, grants them all in general, and every one in particular, Soveraign Juſtice. Some ſay that theſe Electors not regarding this priviledge ſo much as they ought, careleſly loſt it; and having been depriv'd of it many years, at laſt the Elector *Joachim Frederick* got himſelf repoſſeſſed of this Right by the Emperour *Rodolph* II. For my part, I am of another opinion, and think with the greater number of Writers, that they alwayes preſerved and enjoyed it. As for the order of place obſerved in Aſſemblies, this Elector is the laſt but one, ſince the creation of the eighth Electorſhip. We have already ſaid, that he hath many voices; and the younger Brethren of his Houſe, to wit, the Marquiſſes of *Culembach* and of *Anspach* have each of them one, but no right to give a definitive judgement in their Subjects cauſes, if the the ſum exceed 400. Florins of the *Rhine.*

P. *I would gladly know whether there be many Princes of this Houſe.*

G. At the time I now write, there are three married, and three Children. The Elector *Frederick William* Son to *George William* and *Elizabeth Charlotta* Princeſs Electoral *Palatine*, after long hopes of Marrying the matchleſs *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden* (who hath ſince declared that ſhe will dy a Maid) was Married *December* 7. 1646. to *Loüyſe* of *Naſſau* Daugh-

Daughter to the great Town-taker *Frederick Henry* Prince of *Orange*, by whom he hath a Son called *Charles Emelius*, who was born *February* 2. 1655. and another named *N. N.* born———1657. The Electoral Branch doth at this time conſiſt of theſe three Princes. The Marquiſſes of *Culembach* and *Barheit* are, *Chriſtian Erneſt* Son to *Herman Auguſtus* and *Sophia* Daughter to *Joachim Erneſt*, alſo Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg*: This young Prince was born *July* 27. 1644. and *George Albert* his Unkle born in 1619. Married *Mary Elizabeth* Daughter to *Philip* Duke of *Holſtein* in the year 1651. The third Branch which reſides at *Anſpach* hath been long in fear of ending without iſſue Male, there being none but *Albert* Son to *Joachim Erneſt* and to *Sophia* Counteſs of *Solmes*, who in her life time had but few her equals in virtue and beauty. This Prince, endued with piety as well as magnanimity, was born *September* 28. 1620. and in 1642. Married *Henrietta Loüyſe* Daughter to *Lewis Frederick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, by whom he had only two Daughters. But that Princeſs being gone to receive in Heaven the Crown which her virtues merited upon earth, this Lord hath taken for his ſecond Wife *Sophia Margaret* Daughter to *Joachim Erneſt* Count of *Ottenguen:* And by this Lady, who is a Phenix in beauty, courage and liberality, he had a Son *October* 8. 1655. and is at this time in hopes of having many more. Which I wiſh he may,

and pray God that imitating their Anceſtors, they may be as ſo many *German Achilles* and *Alcibiades.*

P. *Have theſe Princes any good Forts, full Magazins, and wherewithal to bring Armies into the field?*

G. The Elector hath at this preſent very conſiderable forces in *Pruſſia*, where he takes part with the King of *Sweden*; and he is of ſo high eſteem by the means he hath to help and to harm, that he is courted on all hands. His Forts are exceeding well maintained, and as well provided: *Cuſtrin* hath never been taken; *Pillaw* and *Memel* make him redoubted in *Pruſſia*, *Colberg* in *Pomerania*, *Driſen* in the *Mark*, and *Landſperg* upon the *Vard*. His Couſins of *Culembach* and *Anſpach* have their ſure retreats at *Blaſſembourg* and *Melſpourg*. And foraſmuch as Princes ſtrike their enemies more ſmartly with the head, than with the hand; the Elector and the Marquiſs of *Anſpach* are as much to be feared for their prudence, as for their valour.

The end of the Third Dialogue.

DIALOGUE IV.

Of the Secular Princes of the Empire.

P. *IF you be ſo particular in deſcribing the Origin, progreſs, and Alliances of the Princes, as you have been in thoſe of the Electors, it will be long before we get out of* Germany.

G. The deſire I have to ſee you ſpeedily comprehend the manners, ſtrength, and Laws of other well governed Nations in *Europe*, will quicken me to paſs as lightly as may be over the conſideration of the Princes of the Empire. We muſt nevertheleſs ſpeak of all thoſe that have place in the Aſſemblies.

P. *I am content you ſhould do ſo; but your undertaking will carry you out of* Germany, *or into a tedious repetition; for the King of* Sweden, *the Elector of* Brandenbourg, *and many Princes of his and other Electoral Houſes whereof you have already made mention, are in the number of thoſe who have place in the Dicts of the Empire.*

G. Having elſewhere ſaid that this King, and ſome younger Brethren of Electoral Houſes have voices in the general Aſſemblies; I ſhall not repeat it here, and ſhall ſpeak of the Duke of *Lorraine* in another place, becauſe his Eſtate is at preſent in the moſt Chriſtian Kings hands.

P. *By that means you will very much ſhorten this diſcourſe, and yet not loſe the opportunity of entertaining me with the commemoration of that Houſe, wherein Valour, Affability, and modeſty ſeem to be natural.*

G. Since there is nothing more dear to me, than to give you content, I ſhall willingly omit all other matters to diſcourſe upon the Houſes of *Brunſwick*, *Meklebourg*, *Wirtemberg*, *Heſſe*, *Baden*, *Holſtein*, *Saxon-Lawembourg*, *Anhalt*, *Hohenzolleren*, *Aremberg*, *Henneberg*, and *Eaſt-friſeland*: And having conſidered them one after another, I will paſs to the Eccleſiaſtical Princes, the Prelates, the Counts, and the Barons. But before I enter upon this Theme, I beſeech you to conſider, that the King of *Sweden* being a Member of the Empire may very much contribute to the preſervation of its Liberty, and the maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion.

P. *The* French *accuſe the* Spaniards *for aiming at the Univerſal Monarchy, and on the other ſide the* Spaniards *ſay that the* French *ſeek for an opportunity to ſeize upon the Empire. If it were ſo, methinks the King of* Sweden *might diſappoint the deſigns of thoſe Monarchs.*

G. All Princes know, that their tranquillity depends upon the equal counterpoiſe of thoſe two Kings, and therefore uſe their endeavours to hinder the one from bringing the other too much under; but I dare not affirm that either

either of them have ſuch high thoughts: True it is, that every one ought to fear it, and that the wiſeſt Princes ſeeing the balance too heavy on one ſide, help to make weight on the other. The King of *Sweden*, who is prudent in Counſel and valiant in fight, will not be the laſt to apply a remedy, when he ſees the danger. And if he ſhould forget his own and the Empires Intereſt, the *Venetians*, *Hollanders*, and *Swiſſes* would employ their money and power for the preſervation of theirs and our Liberty.

P. Europe *breeds a People ſo ingenuous, knowing, valiant, and ſo oppoſite to ſervitude, that it ſeems impoſſible for it ever to come under the obedience of one only perſon. Let us then leave the Ambitious to rack and torture their minds with imaginary conqueſts; and let us look upon the Houſe of the* Guelphes, *which heretofore poſſeſt a great part of* Germany: *And if you will oblige me, ſpeak as diſtinctly of it as poſſibly you can.*

G. This Houſe, which without diſpute held the firſt rank after the Electors, before the Archbiſhopricks of *Magdebourg* and *Bremen* were converted into Secular Dignities, is put back thoſe two degrees. Nevertheleſs it comes not behind any one in antiquity, and had its Territories all along the *Elbe* in the Countrey of *Saxony*, when it followed the fortune of *Albovin* King of the *Lombards*, firſt into *Pannonia*, and afterwards into *Italy*; where theſe people fixt their ſeat, having driven the *Goths*

out of it, and gave their name to the Province anciently called *Gallia Ciſalpina* about 200. years before the time of *Charlemagne*. Then it was that this family acquired the Dutchy of *Modena*, which it poſſeſſeth even at this day.

P. *Do you think then that the Houſe of* Eſte, *which ſtill holds the Dutchy of* Modena, *and loſt that of* Ferrara *in the time of Pope* Clement *VIII. after the death of Duke* Alphonſo, *is a branch of this of* Brunſwick?

G. I make no doubt of it; and when the Kingdom of the *Lombards* was deſtroyed in *Italy* by the arms of *Charlemagne*, ſome Princes of this Houſe came back into their own Countrey; where they had ſtill ſo large an eſtate and authority, that the Emperour *Lewis* the *Debonaire* Married *Judith* a Princeſs of that family, and had by her *Charles* the *Bald*, who was King of *France* and Emperour. This Empreſs had a Brother named *Henry*, to whom *Lewis* his Son-in-law Son to *Lewis Germanicus*, gave thoſe lands which are now called *Bavaria*.

P. *Theſe indeed are fair and advantagious alliances, which having made thoſe Princes Brothers-in-law and Fathers-in-law to Kings, brought them ſo conſiderable a Principality.*

G. The Deſcendents of *Henry* did not long poſſeſs this Countrey; for his line failing in *Guelphe* IV. his Nephews Son, the Emperour *Henry* IV. gave his inheritance to *Guelphe* V. Son to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who (as we have ſaid)

ſaid) was of the ſame Houſe: And in proceſs of time *Henry* the Proud Duke of *Bavaria* deſcended from *Guelphe* V. Married *Gertrude* Daughter to the Emperour *Lotharius* II. who brought him the Dutchy of *Saxony* for her Dowry. The iſſue of that Marriage was *Henry Leo*, who together with *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, poſſeſſed many great Principalities lying upon the *Elbe*, and elſewhere.

P. *How comes it then to paſs that the Succeſſors of* Henry Leo *have their Eſtate confined within the Dutchies of* Brunſwick *and* Lunebourg?

G. That Prince being of a high ſpirit, and not able to comply with the Emperour *Frederick Barbaroſſa* his Uncle, was proſcribed and expelled the Empire; and when he was thus driven out of his Eſtates, he made his retreat into *England* to King *Henry* II. who gave him his Daughter *Matildis* or *Mawd* to Wife, and procured his reconciliation with the Emperour: But becauſe he had in the mean time diſpoſed of the Dutchy of *Bavaria* in favour of the Count of *Schieren*, whoſe poſterity enjoys it at this day, *Henry Leo* was reſtored to no more than the Dutchy of *Saxony*; which Principality paſt a little after into the Houſe of *Saxon-Lawembourg* by the Marriage of *Helen* Daughto the Emperour *Otho* IV. and Grandchild to *Henry Leo* with *Albert* I. of that name Elector of *Saxony*. At that time *Frederick* II. gave the title of Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Lunebourg* to *Otho* a Prince of that Houſe.

P. *The*

P. *The misfortune of* Henry Leo *should serve for a leſſon to Great ones, and make all men ſee, that it is neceſſary to honour Superiours and not to provoke ones Maſters.*

G. Many great Princes deſiring to ſhake off the yoke of their due obedience, have forfeited their right, and loſt that which they would not acknowledge to hold of their Soveraign. That was the quarrel againſt the King of *England*, who was deveſted of the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Guyenne* by *Charles* VII. King of *France*: And if the *Guelphes* had husbanded their ſtrength better, and paid the Emperour the reſpect they ought him, they had ſtill been the moſt potent Princes in *Germany*.

P. *They are far leſs at preſent than they were in the time of* Henry Leo; *and yet they ſeem to be very conſiderable by their own forces, and by their alliances.*

G. All the Houſes that have admitted the right of Primogeniture, are better kept up than others. This having a large Eſtate and four voices in the Aſſemblies, is divided but into two principal branches, which are equal in dignity; but the elder in years of the two Chiefs precedes the other in the general and particular Aſſemblies. They all bear the ſame title; and if one branch happen to fail, the other ſhall ſucceed it. They have both of them good Fortreſſes; *Wolfenbottel*, *Cel*, *Hanover*, *Lunebourg*, and *Giffhorne*, are ſtrong places under the command of theſe Princes. *Brunſwick* hath

hath never ſubmitted to their power, ſtill enjoying the right of a Free City, though the Duke hath often uſed skill as well as force to bring it under his obedience. Theſe Princes can raiſe and maintain great numbers of Souldiers within their Territories. And the neighbourhood of *Denmark* and *Sweden* may yet make them more conſiderable; the Emperour being always willing to gratifie them to keep them to him, and ſtrangers to gain them to their ſide.

P. It is certain that a Prince whoſe lands border upon a Foraign State, may eaſily make himſelf more valuable, than if they lay in the heart of the Empire; but there is a great deal of prudence to be uſed in ſuch caſes.

G. The Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Savoy* have always been very much conſidered for the ſituation of their Eſtates, and the need that neighbouring Monarchs had of their aſſiſtance. For which cauſe *Bocalini* having brought them to be weighed at *Laurence de Medicis* his Scales, finds them as heavy as Kings. Yet if theſe Princes be not very quick and expert as well as valiant and reſolute, they may hazard the loſs of all. *Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, who had no equal in courage, and but few in prudence, having a little ſlackned the Maximes of his accuſtomed Politicks, ſaw himſelf almoſt totally ruined; and Duke *Charles* of *Lorraine* is ſtill out of his Countrey, for having juſtled againſt that party that was able to fall fouleſt upon him. So that Frontier Provinces ſtand in need of

Princes

Princes endued with an extraordinary virtue and an unparalleled vigilance, otherwiſe they rather bring harm than advantage.

P. *The preſent Princes of* Brunſwick *and* Lunebourg *are ſo great perſonages, that I make no queſtion but they uſe a Policy worthy of themſelves. Tell me ſomething of their Alliances.*

G. All the Houſes of *Germany* have great relations, but one ſhall find few of them like this, that hath had in Marriage ſeven Daughters of Kings, one of an Emperour, and four Electoral Princeſſes: It hath alſo beſtowed three of its Princeſſes upon Kings, one upon an Archduke, many upon Electors, and far more upon other Princes of the Empire. It hath likewiſe had in Marriage Palatine Princeſſes, Dutcheſſes of *Brabant*, *Saxony*, *Cleve*, *Pomerania*, *Meklebourg*, *Wirtemberg*, *Saxon-Lawembourg*, and *Berg*, *Marchioneſſes* of *Brandebourg*, *Landgraveſſes* of *Heſſe*; and in a word Daughters of all the Illuſtrious Houſes of the Empire.

P. *I think this whole Family is of the Proteſtant Religion.*

G. When Duke *Julius* took the Government upon him, he ſpent three years in the Reformation of his Countrey, and being aſſiſted by the care and knowledge of Doctor *James Andrew* Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Tubing*, brought his deſign to ſuch perfection in the year 1570. that it continues in vigour to this

this day, and learning in the higheſt aſcendent by the diligence of the Profeſſors which theſe Princes maintain in their Univerſity of *Helmeſtad.* All this Family follows the doctrine of *Luther*, except *John Frederick*, who was born *April* 25. 1625. and embracing the Roman-Catholick Religion in the year 1650. ſolaces himſelf at this time in *Italy.*

P. *Hath this Prince many Brethren?*

G. The whole branch of *Lunebourg* conſiſts of four young Lords; of whom, *Erneſt Auguſtus* is deſigned for the Biſhoprick of *Oſnaburg*; *John Frederick* may arrive to eminent preferment in the Church, if he engage not in Marriage; *George William* ſhall be ſetled at *Hanowick*; and *Chriſtian Lewis* their eldeſt Brother hath Married *Dorothy* Daughter to *Philip* Duke of *Holſtein.* This Prince, who reſides at *Cel*, is obliged to pay to each of his younger Brethren 12000. Rix-dollars yearly, and much more to the youngeſt. *Sophia Amelia* their Siſter is Married to *Frederick* III. King of *Denmark*; and their Mother *Anne Eleonor*, Daughter to *Lewis Landgrave* of *Darmſtadt* is yet living.

P. *Paſs on, if you pleaſe, to the branch of* Brunſwick.

G. The Head of this branch is *Augnſtus*, the moſt knowing Prince of *Europe.* He hath but three Sons, of whom *Rodolph Auguſtus* the eldeſt hath Married *Chriſtina* Counteſs of *Barby*, as *Antony Ulrick* hath done *Juliana* Dutcheſs of *Holſtein*; but *Ferdinand Albert* is a Batche-

Batchlor. So that these two Houses are almost equal in number of Princes, as well as in extent of Territory.

P. *I have oftentimes heard mention of the marvellous knowledge of that Duke* Augustus *and of the Books he hath published; and the judgment which I have heard made thereupon obliges me to ask you, whether it be necessary that a Prince be learned?*

G. There is no doubt to be made, but that Sciences do enhance and adorn the Titles and Souls of Princes, as diadems do their heads, and jewels their Crowns: And although this quality be very rare, yet it is necessary to those that would rule happily and gloriously. *Solomon*, *Alexander* the Great, *Ptolomee*, *Julius Cesar*, *Augustus*, the two *Antonines*, and *Charlemagne*, had never attained to so great renown, if they had not associated Letters with the sword, and learning with valour. Wisdom and Knowledge are such Royal endowments, that the greatest men do not think any State happpy, if the Prince be not Wise and Knowing.

P. *Since we are occasionally fallen upon this discourse, tell me what Science Princes ought to learn.*

G. The first and most necessary Philosophy of a Prince, is to know how to do justice to his People, and defend them from their enemies. And to that end I think he should study to understand those persons that are able to serve him well,

well, and not to neglect the Mathematicks, which teach him both to beſiege and fortifie places as he ought, to form Battalions and batteries, to entrench a Camp, and to take his advantage. As to other things, I do not deſire that a Prince ſhould ſpend his time upon Logical notions, nor that he ſhould like a Pedant be evermore bringing out ſome verſe of *Horace*. It is ſufficient that he be ready in Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory, that he take a delight in Books, and conſult the dead, to learn of them what none of the living dare tell him.

P. *Then you do not believe it requiſite for a Prince to be as skilful in Natural Philoſophy as* Bajazet, *in Aſtronomy as* Alphonſus *King of* Aragon, *nor in Languages as the Emperour* Frederick *II. was.*

G. It is as great a fault to aim at knowing too much, as to learn nothing at all. The Prince that hath ſtudied too much, deſpiſeth his Counſellors, and will fetch all his counſels out of his own head; and he that hath learnt nothing, is not capable to make choice of the beſt advices. He that would oblige a great Lord to make himſelf as perfect in the Sciences as they that make it their profeſſion, deſerves no leſs blame than if he ſhould forbid him to learn above three words of Latine. Learn then to expreſs your mind in good terms, read ſuch books as may teach you to know the condition of your friends and of your adverſaries, be well inſtructed in truly Chriſtian Politicks, let

it

it be your care distinctly to know those that love the publick Interest, honour them with such offices as they deserve, and leave the rest to your servants.

P. *This subject leads us out of our way; I pray let us recover it: And since we have said something already of the Dukes of Pomerania, that take their turns with the Houses of* Meklebourg. Wirtemberg, Hesse, *and* Baden; *let us take a view of these four one after the other.*

G. The House of *Meklebourg* is derived from the *Vandal* Princes, who joyning with the *Goths* struck terror heretofore into the Roman Eagles, and bore their victorious arms in *Italy*, *Gaule*, and *Spain*.

P. *Do not you believe that* Bucephalus *his head which they carry in their Escutcheon, is not a sure mark that they are descended of one of* Alexander *the Greats Generals?*

G. Genealogies that are so far fetcht relish more of the Romance than of History; and Writers that insist upon such Fables, do injury to ancient Houses. For my part I think it better to confess my self ignorant from whence a Family draws its beginning, than to make even the most credulous to question what is said of it; and freely acknowledging that I do not know whether these Princes be descended from a General of that incomparable Conquerour of *Asia*, I do know that they are of the most Illustrious and most Ancient personages in *Germany*.

P. *If*

P. *If I be not miſtaken, the Emperour* Charles *IV. admitted* Albert *and* John *Dukes of* Meklebourg *(Sons to* Henry Leo *Prince of the* Vandals*) amongſt the Princes of the Empire.*

G. Charles IV. receiving thoſe Lords into the number of the Eſtates of the Empire, did not give them the quality of Prince, which they had before; but only brought them under the protection of the Empire, by making them Members thereof, upon condition they ſhould be ſubject to its Laws, and contribute to its neceſſities, and ſo enjoy the ſame priviledges which other Lords of their degree and quality did.

P. *In the time of the laſt Wars the Emperour made thoſe Princes feel the weight of his indignation, giving their lands to* Walleſtein *a Gentleman of* Sileſia, *who by a ſtrange ingratitude and a deviliſh ambition endeavouring to ſeat himſelf upon the Throne of* Bohemia, *and diſpoſſeſs his Maſter of it, came to a miſerable end.*

G. The lamentable death of the Duke of *Fridland* gives us to underſtand that Kings have long arms, and that no man ought to abuſe their favours, nor follow the motions, which an undaunted courage and an inordinate ambition inſpires. The Duke of *Biron*, and the Earl of *Eſſex* had ſuch like deſigns, and as Tragical Cataſtrophes. As to the Dukes of *Meklebourg*, I am to tell you, that the great-

eſt part of the Potentates in *Germany* have felt the ſmart of *Mars* his rods, and theſe Princes as much as any other, having ſeen a great Captain indeed, and a renowned Souldier, but unworthy of their degree, bear the name and Arms of their Principality: Nevertheleſs they re-entred into it by the virtue of the Great *Guſtavus* their Couſin-German; and though the concluſion of the Peace took *Wiſmar* from them, yet it gave them in exchange the Biſhopricks of *Ratzebourg* and *Suerin*, turned into Principalities: So as they have loſt nothing, if they do not prefer the convenience of that Haven and its Fort before twice its Revenue.

P. *I did not know that theſe Princes were ſo near of kin to the late King of* Sweden.

G. The Great *Guſtavus* and theſe Dukes were Sons of two Siſters, Daughters to *Adolph* Duke of *Holſtein*; which proximity of blood moved that Heroical Prince to embrace their intereſt: So after the Battel of *Leipſick* he turned his victorious arms towards the Dutchy of *Meklebourg*, and re-placed theſe Princes there *June* 25. 1631. Three years after, theſe Lords were reconciled to the Emperour; and at this time live in peace, divided into two branches, the Chiefs whereof make their reſidence at *Suerin* and at *Guſtron*.

P. *Have theſe two Branches equal ſhares of the Eſtate?*

G. They have each of them a moyety of the Dutchy, and in regard thereof, a ſeat and voice

voice in the Aſſemblies: But *Adolph Frederick* hath eight Sons and ſix Daughters; and *Guſtavus Adolph*, who is Head of the other Branch, had no body to participate with him, being an only Son. This latter who reſides at *Guſtron*, is of great ſpirit, knowing, courteous, affable, and generous: He Married *Magdalen Sibyll*, Daughter to *Frederick* the preſent Duke of *Holſtein*, and hath one Son by her. The Children of *Adolph Frederick*, who reſides at *Suerin*, are all well made and qualified both in body and mind. *Chriſtian* the eldeſt hath Married his Couſin *Chriſtina Margaret* Daughter to *John Albert* Duke of *Meklebourg*: And *Anne Mary* youngeſt of the Daughters, is the worthy Conſort of *Auguſtus* Duke of *Saxony*, Son to the Elector *John George* I. All the reſt are ſtill to be Married, and all worthy of Kings as Well for their inward as their outward beauty. Theſe Princes have all conjunctly one Univerſity at *Roſtoch*, which was eſtabliſhed there in the year 1419 by *John* and *Albert* firſt Dukes of this Houſe.

P. *I ſhould willingly deſire a more particular recital of the Alliances of this Houſe; but fearing to be too troubleſome to you, I ſhall forbear that, and intreat you to tell me ſomething concerning that of* Wirtemberg.

G. I ſhall not proceed any further, till I have acquainted you that the Houſe of *Meklebourg* hath had in Marriage ſix Daughters of Kings, and five of Electors, within leſs than

200. years. As for that of *Wirtemberg*, which after it had for many ages born the quality of Count, was raiſed to the Ducal Dignity by the conſent of all the Eſtates of the Empire in a Diet held at *Wormes* 1495. it comes behind never a Family in Revenue, alliances, piety, magnificence, and priviledges. It hath a Countrey, where the Mountains abound in Mines, Wines, and Woods; the Foreſts are well ſtored with Timber-trees, Game and Veniſon of all kinds; the Valleys are a continuation of Meadows covered with Cattle, and watered with Brooks full of Fiſh; the Plains are thick ſet with Gardens, and the Gardens like thoſe of the *Heſperides*, or rather like earthly *Paradiſes*. There is in no place to be ſeen fairer rows of Orange-trees, Grotta's better contrived and beautified, Fountains more artificial, nor Fruits more pleaſant to the ſight and taſte, than at *Stutgardt*. Few Princes have a houſe of Pleaſure and a Heronry within their Garden, as this Duke hath; neither is there any one in the Empire, that hath a greater care of the Sciences and of Learned perſons. They that have been at *Tubing*, know how many Princes, Counts, Lords, Barons, and Gentlemen have been bred in the Noble Colledge which Duke *Lewis* cauſed to be built, and which his Succeſſors do ſplendidly maintain there.

P. *Since we are entred upon this diſcourſe, make me (if you pleaſe) a more particular deſcription of that Colledge.*

G. I

G. It would require a more copious and eloquent tongue than mine, to make you comprehend the benefit which the Empire receives by this *Athenæum.* Princes learn there to fear God, to honour the Emperour, to ſerve their Countrey, to judge of the ſincerity of their Confederates, and to cheriſh their friends. Counts, Barons and Gentlemen do there learn the ways of winning and keeping the favour of Great men, a ſweetneſs of carriage neceſſary for the maintaining of a perfect friendſhip amongſt equals, and an infinity of virtues, which are the ſame thing in their Souls that the Soul is in the body, the eye in the head, precious ſtones in gold, and flowers in meadows.

P. *I ſuppoſe that in this illuſtrious Colledge the exerciſes of the body are no more neglected than thoſe of the mind.*

G. One may there learn with little charge and pains that which men go to ſeek for in *Italy* and *France* at the expenſe of their health and ſoundneſs both in Body and Soul. *Florence* hath nothing for riding the great Horſe, nor *Rome* and *Paris* for fencing and dancing Schools, which may not be gotten without going out of *Tubing*; where the Vniverſity and Colledge have excellent Profeſſors in all faculties, and principally in thoſe which are worthy of illuſtrious perſons.

P. *Doth it coſt his Highneſs of* Wirtemberg *much to maintain the Profeſſors, and Maſters of exerciſes, which you now mentioned?*

G. More than you think; but that expence is not conſiderable in compariſon of the glory which redounds from thence. This Colledge and this Univerſity are the Pearls which do wonderfully ſet off the Crown of this Duke: For although he be exceedingly at his eaſe, though he have whatſoever he can wiſh, though the delight of Hunting never fail him, though every day preſent him ſome new delicacies made or growing upon his own Territories; yet he would be much leſs ſpoken of in Foraign Countreys, if *Eberhard* the Wiſe had not founded that Univerſity, if *Chriſtopher* the Prudent had not projected this Colledge, if *Lewis* the Pious had not built it, if *Frederick* the Magnanimous had not endowed it, if *John Frederick* the Peaceable had not preſerved it, and if *Eberhard* the Conſtant had not raiſed it to a higher point for the good of the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen of the Empire.

P. *Are none admitted into this Colledge but perſons of quality?*

G. This Colledge would not be illuſtrious, if all ſorts might be promiſcuouſly received into it: And theſe Princes having erected it for the education of perſons of noble extraction, they have thought it convenient to exclude thoſe that are not Gentlemen born; to the end that whileſt there is none there but ſuch as are obliged to aſpire unto an eminent virtue, and that have worthy Predeceſſors to imitate, there may be nothing ſeen but ſuch examples as may give

give furtherance to young Lords in the purſuit of that mark they aim at. Nevertheleſs it is a ſufficient qualification for the Maſters and Governours of Great Men, to be modeſt, knowing, and pious.

P. *I would gladly know in what manner they live in this Colledge.*

G. Order being the eſſential principle of all Societies, Laws have been made that appoint every one what he is to do, and what he is to avoid. Theſe Rules are read unto ſuch as enter into the Colledge to remain there, and they all promiſe and engage before the Preſident of the Colledge to obſerve them, except great Lords who are not bound to thoſe Laws, but ſo far forth as decency and the command of their Parents enjoyns them to obey their Governours, who are reſponſible for them, and are themſelves ſubject to the Laws; which are extreme eaſie, and require nothing of any man but what he cannot well omit without running counter to honour and honeſty.

P. *This Inſtitution is worthy of ſuch Princes; But is the Dutchy of* Wirtemberg *ſo great, that it can maintain this Colledge and the Univerſity of* Tubing, *without incommodating the Prince?*

G. This Countrey is not ſo conſiderable for the extent, as for the goodneſs of the Soil, and number of Lordſhips; in which they reckon 63. Cities, 158. great Towns, 645. Villages, 537. Water-mills, and 14. Abbeys of large

Revenue. Before the War this Duke could have brought together 24000. men in 24. hours; and at this time he hath a fair Militia aſwell of Horſe as Foot, and many Fortreſſes, whereof *Schocenderf*, *Habſperg*, *Anach* and *Neif*, are indifferent good, and *Hohenvilz* one of the beſt in *Germany*.

P. *Do me the favour to acquaint me further with the Priviledges and Alliances of this Prince.*

G. There is no Prince in *Germany* that hath more noble priviledges than this Duke. Not one of his ſubjects can appeal from his Juſtice: And for that purpoſe he hath a Preſidial Court at *Tubing*, compoſed of five Gentlemen, four Doctors, and as many Burgers, who give definitive judgment upon all controverſies that happen between his Highneſs Subjects both in Civil and Criminal cauſes; alſo a Conſiſtory formed of certain Divines, and other grave perſons who are skilful in matters Eccleſiaſtical, and ſuch as have any relation to the Spiritual, as Marriages and Adulteries: He hath other Councils alſo for affairs of State, and of the Exchequor. As to your demand touching the Alliances of this Houſe, I find that anciently the Males Married Marchioneſſes of *Brigue*, Dutcheſſes of *Lernigen*, Daughters of Kings of *Poland* and of Emperours, Dutcheſſes of *Bavaria*, *Milan*, *Savoy*, and *Cleve*. Since they were Dukes, *Eberhard* I. Married *Barbara* of *Gonzaga*; *Eberhard* II. *Elizabeth* Marchioneſſ

oneſs of *Brandenbourg*; *Ulrick*, *Sabina* Daughter to *Albert* the Wiſe, Duke of *Bavaria*; *Chriſtopher*, *Anne Mary* Marchioneſs of *Brandenbourg*; *Lewis*, *Dorothy Urſula* Marchioneſs of *Baden*, and *Urſula* Princeſs *Palatine*; *Frederick* had *Sibyll* Princeſs of *Anhalt* for the conſervatreſs of his Houſe; *John Frederick* took *Barbara Sophia* Princeſs Electoral of *Brandenbourg* for an aſſiſtant and admirer of his Magnificence; and *Eberhard* III. had *Anne Catherine Rhingraveſs* for the comfortreſs of his diſpleaſures in the time of the War, and *Mary Dorothy Sophia* Counteſs of *Ottingnen* for a partner of his felicity in the time of peace, with whom he lived in ſuch perfect union and harmony, that it ſeemed as it were a taſte upon earth of the life hereafter in Heaven.

P. *Hath this Prince no Children?*

G. He had 14. by his firſt Wife, and hath ſtill nine of them, very ſweet lovely perſons: The five Princeſſes ſpeak *French* and dance as if they had been bred at *Paris*: The eldeſt Son *John Frederick* is excellent for Horſmanſhip and at his Weapon; *William Lewis*, *Frederick Charles*, and *Charles Maximilian* are but young, but they carry in their countenances ſuch Characters of generoſity, as eaſily perſwade me they will one day make the virtues of their braveſt Anceſtors live again.

P. *Methinks you are very much addicted to this Houſe, and yet you do not tell me, that one of the younger Sons of* Frederick *the Magnanimous*

unanimous had Weiltingen *and* Brents; *and the youngeſt of all*, Monbeliard, Ericourt, Granges, Horbourg, Richeville, *and their appurtenances, which give him a voice in the Diets of the Empire, and almoſt all the Nobility in the Franche-County and* Burgundy *hold of him in Fee: Alſo that this Princes Lands, depending upon the Empire, enjoy the ſame right that the Dutchy of* Wirtemberg *doth; and that the eldeſt Son had the Dutchy entire, and left it undivided to his eldeſt Son.*

G. I have elſewhere ſaid, that the right of Primogeniture takes place in this Houſe: And ſince you are not ſatisfied with what I have told you hitherto, you ought to know that the four Daughters of *Frederick* the Magnanimous were Married to *John George* I. Elector of *Saxony*, *John George* Marquiſs of *Zeguerendorf*, *Frederick* Marquiſs of *Baden*, and *Francis Julius* Duke of Lower *Saxony*; which are high Alliances. The Sons of *Lewis Frederick* Prince of *Monbeliard* are Married, the eldeſt to *Sibyl* Dutcheſs of *Wirtemberg*, and the younger to *Anne* of *Coligny* Dutcheſs of *Chaſtillon*. The younger Son of *Julius Frederick* Married a Counteſs of *Aldembourg*, and the eldeſt a Dutcheſs of *Munſterberg*, who brought him in dowry the Principality of *Ols* in *Sileſia*. *Ulrick* a younger Son of the preſent Duke was General of the Foraign Horſe for the Spaniard in *Flanders*, where he took to Wife *Iſabell* of *Arenberg* Princeſs of *Barbanſon*; but at preſent he

is

General of an Army for the King of *France*. *Frederick* was Major General with great reputation in the Army of *Heſſe*: He is at this time Married to *Clara Auguſta* Dutcheſs of *Brunſwick*. Theſe Princes have two Siſters; who whileſt the War laſted thinking they could not ſpend their time better, *Antonietta* learnt the Hebrew and Latin, and *Anne Jane* the Mathematicks, in perfection. And that I may forget nothing that may ſerve to illuſtrate the glory of this Houſe, you ſhall obſerve (if you pleaſe) that *Eberhard* Count of *Wirtemberg* the third of that name, who dyed *May* 16. 1417. had uſually at his Court ſix Princes, ſeven Counts, five Barons, and threeſcore and ten Gentlemen.

P. *I never heard that a Count had Princes in his Court: But tell me, why doth the Houſe of* Auſtria *bear the name and Arms of that of* Wirtemberg?

G. When Duke *Ulrick* was driven out of his Eſtates in the year 1519. his Enemies ſold that Dutchy to the Emperour *Charles* V. and *Ulrick* continued in exile till the year 1534. at which time being aſſiſted by the money of *Francis* I. King of *France*, and the Sword of *Philip Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, he returned into his Countrey, and ſent his Son Duke *Chriſtopher* to *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, who agreed with him at *Cade June* 24. in the ſame year, that the Houſe of *Wirtemberg* ſhould enjoy that Dutchy, holding it in Fee of the Houſe

House of *Austria*: Which was according done, till the year 1599. when by a transac on made at *Prague* between the Emper *Rodolph* II. and *Frederick* I. Duke of *Wirte berg*, this Dutchy was reduced unto its first co dition, the House of *Austria* only reserving to itself the name and Arms, and the right of Suc cession, in case it survive all the Males of *Wir temberg*.

P. *Let us step into the Countrey of* Hesse *and tell me something of a House to which gen rosity seems to be natural.*

G. I know never a Family in *Germany* mo illustrious than that of *Hesse*, whether yo consider its antiquity, or the number of He roical personages it hath produced, or last its Alliances. The Landgrave *George* ha heretofore told me that his House is descende from *Charlemagne*; and a little after, whe I was at *Cassel* the late Landgraves of *He* shewed me a Genealogical Table, that deriv it from a Collateral branch of that great Em perour, but by the way of Females. I can har ly forbear to explicate the same to you at large and would do it, if I were not afraid to b troublesome.

P. *I know you could shew me that* Gerbor *Daughter to* Charles *of* Lorraine *(Unkle by th Fathers side to* Lewis *V. King of* France, *wh came in a direct Male line from* Lewis *the* De bonaire*) was Married to* Lambert *II. Count* Lovain, *from whom the present Landgrav*

are deſcended by the way of Henry *V. who was the firſt of this Family that had the title of Landgrave of* Heſſe: *But becauſe I do not queſtion that at all, declare to me how* Henry *got this Landgraveſhip, how his poſterity kept it, who were the moſt illuſtrious Princes of this Houſe, and into how many Branches it is divided at this preſent.*

G. You free me from a great deal of pains; which yet would not have been unpleaſant to me, for the reſpect I bear to that Houſe. To begin then to anſwer your queſtion, I ſay, that *Henry* of *Brabant* (whoſe predeceſſors had born the name of Counts of *Lovain*, *Hainault*, *Rhetel*, and *Tvoy*, and of Dukes of *Moſelle*, *Lorraine*, and *Brabant*) Married *Sophia* Landgraveſs of *Thuringia*, who alſo deſcended from *Charlemagne* by the way of *Lewis Germanicus* ſecond Son to *Lewis* the *Debonaire*. This *Henry* made war nine years together upon *Henry* the Illuſtrious Marquiſs of *Miſnia*, who pretended (as the other did) to the Principalities of *Thuringia* and *Heſſe*: And at laſt they came to this agreement, that the one ſhould have *Heſſe*, and the other *Thuringia*, upon condition that the ſurviving Family ſhould inherit both; and this agreement is ſtill in force between the Dukes of *Saxony*, who are Landgraves of *Thuringia*, and our Landgraves of *Heſſe*.

P. *Wars between kinſmen are uſually cruel and long: At what time did this happen?*

G. Henry

G. Henry of *Brabant* first Landgrave of *Hesse* lived 63. years, and dyed in that of our Lord 1308. He left the succession to his Son *Otho*, who was Father to *Lewis*, Grandfather to *Herman*, and Great-Grandfather to *Lewis* the Peaceable second of that name, and first of his Family that was qualified Count of *Zigenheim* and *Nidda*. This Prince may serve for an example of moderation to posterity; for when the Imperial Dignity was offered him, and he chosen according to the Laws of the Empire in the year 1442. he refused that which many seek after with much hazard, labour and anxiety.

P. *The title of Peaceable which this Prince bore, makes me think he feared the power of* Frederick *of* Habspourg, *who took the Scepter which* Lewis *would not accept; and I am perswaded that* Lewis *the Courageous, Son to the Peaceable, would rather have canvassed to procure the Imperial Crown, than modestly refused it.*

G. It is very likely the Son would not have done as the Father did; and in all probability if that House had accepted the Crown then, it would have held it even to this day: For ever since that time, all the Princes of *Hesse* that have reigned, were worthy to reign. *William* the younger, Son to *Lewis* and *Matildis* of *Wirtemberg*, had no less courage nor prudence than his Father; *Philip* the Magnanimous, being no more but Landgrave of *Hesse*, gave much

much trouble, and no leſs apprehenſion to the greateſt of our Emperours; *William* the beloved Son of *Philip*, ſhewing himſelf the worthy Son of ſo great a Father, deſerved the ſurname of Wiſe; *Maurice* was equal to, or greater than any one of his Anceſtors; *William* the Conſtant was a pattern of valour and virtue; and *William* his Son cannot but prove a great perſonage, having had for his Mother and Tutreſs the moſt Heroical Lady of this age.

P. *The Ancients by repreſenting Occaſion bald behind, would teach us to uſe prudence, and not to let ſlip a preſent advantage; as* Lewis *Landgrave of* Heſſe, *and* Frederick *III. Elector of* Saxony, *who refuſed the Empire, and repented it too late. But go on, I pray.*

G. You muſt know that *Philip* the Magnanimous had three Sons, who were all Married, and Chiefs of ſeveral Branches: *Lewis* and *George* had leſs of their Fathers eſtate, than *William* their eldeſt Brother; yet that diviſion weakned the Houſe; and a little after, the inheritance of *Lewis* untyed the knot of kindneſs, and ſowed diſcord between the two other Branches.

P. *I would willingly have a more particular account of that miſunderſtanding.*

G. The Landgrave *Lewis*, Son to *Philip*, dyed without iſſue in the year 1604. and appointed his Nephews *Maurice* and *Lewis* to inherit his eſtate by equal portions. Now becauſe one of thoſe heirs was of a different Religion

gion from that profeſſed by the deceaſed Princes Subjects, he added a clauſe in his Will, to deprive that party of the right of Succeſſion that ſhould oblige his Subjects to change their Religion. Notwithſtanding which clauſe, *Maurice* forced the inhabitants of his diviſion to embrace the Reformation of *Calvin*. *Lewis* taking *Maurice* to have forfeited the right he had to the inheritance, complained of the non-obſervance of the Will: Whereupon they took Arbitrators, who judged, that the Clauſe annext to the Teſtament could not deprive *Maurice* of the right he had, as a Prince of the Empire, of obliging his Subjects to follow his Religion. *Lewis* appealed from this Arbitrary ſentence to the Court of the Emperour, where he found more favour, and obtained a Decree that condemned *Maurice*, and an Army that put *Lewis* into poſſeſſion of the lands in queſtion. *Maurice* not being able to withſtand the Army and the will of the Emperour, gave way to power: So *Lewis* ſurnamed the Pious, and *George* his Son, poſſeſt thoſe lands in peace, till *Amelia Elizabeth* Mother to *William* VI. having an Army at her command, uſed it ſo opportunely, that ſhe drove *George* out of the litigious Territories, and forced him to another Agreement, which was mediated by *Erneſt* Duke of *Saxony* in the year 1647.

P. *Theſe contentions muſt needs beget hatred between the two Houſes: But are they of equal puiſſance?*

G. That

G. That of *Caſſel* is the elder, hath precedence, and more eſtate than that of *Darmſtadt*; but they are ſo far forth equal, that each of them hath a voice in the Aſſemblies, and neither depends in any wiſe upon the other. They are both well allied: *George* Chief of the Branch of *Darmſtadt* is Married to the eldeſt Daughter of the late Elector of *Saxony*; his eldeſt Son, to a Daughter of *Frederick* Duke of *Holſtein*; and one of his Daughters to *Philip Lewis* Duke of *Newbourg*. *William* the preſent Prince of *Caſſel* hath taken to Wife a Siſter of the Elector of *Brandenbourg*; and *Williams* eldeſt Siſter is Married to *Lewis* of *Tremüoille*, Duke of *Toüars*, Prince of *Tarante*; and the youngeſt to *Charles Lewis* Elector Palatine.

P. *You have already told me, that* William *VI. was Son to* Amelia Elizabeth, *who governed his perſon and eſtate from the year* 1637. *till the Peace; and her Regency was ſo renowed, and ſo beneficial to that Houſe, that I think my ſelf obliged to propoſe this queſtion to you, Whether they do not great wrong to Ladies that eſteem them unable to govern a State.*

G. I wonder there ſhould be any Philoſophers, who dare affirm, that the Female Sex is unworthy to bear the Scepter; ſince Hiſtories tell us, that Ladies have preſerved and enlarged the Kingdoms of *Spain*, *England*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Portugal*, and *France*; that the five former never flouriſhed ſo much as under two *Elizabeths*, *Margaret*, *Chriſtina*, and *Loüyſe*;

and that the laſt was freed from the *Engli* yoke by *Jane d'Arc*, commonly called t Maid of *Orleans*, preſerved in peace under t Regency of *Blanche* of *Caſtile* Mother to St. *Le is*, and the bounds thereof advanced under *An* of *Auſtria*, Mother to the incomparable *Lew* XIV. the preſent King.

P. *You will acknowledge that this Sex is uſ ally weak, inconſtant, and faint-hearted; an that it is not able either to ride, or wear armo for the good of the State.*

G. It is the opinion of thoſe, who to dec Ladies, tell us, they are naturally inconſta fearful, and cruel; and when we object the luſtrious examples of *Roman*, *Grecian*, *Spani German*, and *French* Ladies, they ſay, th are rare things, and ſuch as ought not to b drawn into conſequence; and that for one th hath adminiſtred the State well, there be t that have abuſed their authority. I confeſs th are not all ſufficiently qualified to rule; bu deny alſo that all men are ſo: And I may co fidently ſay, that never any King of *Engla* was better obeyed than Queen *Elizabeth*; th the braveſt *Swediſh* Commanders freely a knowledged, their victories proceeded as muc from the happy *Genius* of their Queen as fro their own valour; that *Portugal* ows its de verance to *Loyſe de Guſman*, who governs it t with admirable prudence; that *Elizabeth* *France* Wife to *Philip* IV. would have re-eſt bliſhed the affairs of *Spain*, if the impertine

of a Favourite had not held her at diſtance from the Counſels of the King her Husband; that the *Heſſians* were never better ruled than by *Amelia Elizabeth*, and that no Prince was ever more moderate in his proſperity, nor more conſtant in adverſity than this matchleſs Lady. One example ſhall make you confeſs this truth. In the year 1647. her Army beſieged *Paderborne*, and was forced to raiſe the ſiege with loſs. The news came to her while ſhe ſate at Table; ſhe read the Letter, and told me, We have ill news, my Troops have been worſted, and forced to leave a place which it concerned me very much to have taken: And ſo ſate out her Meal without the leaſt ſhow of any alteration.

P. *No more would a great man be much moved at ſuch a loſs.*

G. I know *Philip* II. ſeemed not to be concerned, when he heard of the victory won at *Lepanto*, and of the loſing of a Fleet which he thought Invincible; but that Prince was ſingular in generoſity and conſtancy. And to prove that Ladies are worthy to bear the Scepter, it is enough that we find ſome comparable to the moſt excellent of men.

P. *I ſubmit to your reaſon; but withal I think there are not many* Amelia Elizabeths *to be found.*

G. There are but few indeed, becauſe the malice or envy of men keeps them off from ſhowing their ability, and making their pru-

dence and generosity admired. Nay, I make no question, but, if there were as many Ladies as there be Princes upon the Throne, we should often find Female accomplishments Superior to ours, enough to make Philosophers recant, and acknowledging their error to confess, that Ladies are as much, if not more excellent than men.

P. *I perceive you love that beautiful Sex, and understand their worth; and if they had no greater enemies than you, they should have the honour that is due to them. I shall always be of the same opinion, and if ten thousand Philosophers would perswade me the contrary, I should not forbear to say and believe, that there be many Ladies worthy to govern, and would be many more, if they were instructed and brought up to great affairs from their youth.*

The end of the Fourth Dialogue.

DIAL

DIALOGUE V.

Of the ſame Secular Princes.

P. *I Would gladly have heard ſomething of the Marquiſſes of* Baden *in the preceding Dialogue, becauſe they take their turns with the other Princes you laſt mentioned: But I hope there is nothing loſt.*

G. Theſe Princes, as well as all that are Ancient, hear many men ſpeak of the beginning of their Houſe, but few that ſpeak truth. I do not deſire to confute opinions contrary to mine, nor to entertain you long upon ſuch a ſubject: It is enough for me to tell you what I have learnt from thoſe Marquiſſes themſelves, who have graciouſly communicated to me what they have drawn out of their own Records. But before we go any further, I deſire you to take notice, that the Houſe of *Heſſe* being divided into two Branches, whereof one follows *Luthers* Reformation, and the other *Calvins*; each of them hath one Prince that hath withdrawn himſelf to the Church of *Rome: Frederick* Brother to the Landgrave *George* of *Darmſtadt*, and grand Prior of the Order of *Malta* in *Germany*; and *Erneſt* Unkle by the Fathers ſide to the Landgrave *William* of *Caſſel*, who making as if he would diſpute with the ableſt men of the two Religions permitted by the Laws of the

Empire, hath embraced that of *Rome*, together with his Wife, who is of the Houſe of *Solmes*.

P. *I was not ignorant of that change of Religion, which hath made noiſe enough throughout all* Germany. *As for thoſe Writers that fetch what they deliver concerning the Antiquity of Houſes, either out of their own brain, or from weak conjectures, I think they are much to blame: For my part, I conceive there is no better way to know from what ſource Houſes are derived, than by the Charters and Epitaphs of the Houſes themſelves.*

G. There are ſome that think Princes flatter themſelves in this point, and report fables for truths, on purpoſe to appear more illuſtrious and more ancient. And I am verily perſwaded, that many endeavour to uſurp the Eſtates of others by vain and falſe Genealogies; nay, that our nature cannot endure any that doth not flatter it: On the other ſide I cannot deny, but that Princes themſelves, or their learned ſervants, who have the cuſtody of their Records, muſt know the truth of their beginning and offſpring better than any other perſon. Now the Marquiſs *George Frederick* having cauſed his own to be ſearcht out with great care, the Prince his Son communicated the ſame to me ſuch as I here repreſent it unto you.

P. *The truth is but one, pure, ſimple, and without mixture: Wherefore I pray tell me what you know, not regarding the device of ſome that would*

would draw this Houſe from that of the Urſins, *and others from that of* Della Scala *or the* Sealigers; *ſome labour to ſhew that* Baden *and* Hochberg *were two different Families, and and others that they are but one.*

G. They that would have this Houſe come out of *Italy*, ſay that *Frederick Barbaroſſa* brought *Herman* Marquiſs of *Verona* from thence, and gave him the Marquiſate of *Hochberg*: which cannot be, ſeeing in the time of the Emperour *Conrade* II. there were already Marquiſſes at *Baden* and at *Hochberg*. It is therefore more probable, that *Berchtold* I. having two Sons, divided his Eſtates between them, giving the greateſt part thereof to his eldeſt Son *Berchtold* II. with the title of Duke of *Zeringuen*, and a good ſhare to *Herman* his younger Son, with the title of Marquiſs. This *Herman* II. having Married *Judith* inheritrice of *Baden*, gave occaſion to *Herman* III. whom he had by her, to ſtyle himſelf Marquiſs of *Baden*, to take his Mothers Arms, and tranſmit them to his poſterity, as he did. Some while after, the Emperour *Frederick Barbaroſſa* having ruined *Milan*, and chaſtiſed *Lombardy*, put German garriſons in all the ſtrong places, and left *Herman* IV. Governour of *Verona*. When that Prince came back into *Germany*, he was called Marquiſs of *Verona* in memory of that Expedition; and that name hath occaſioned the miſtake of thoſe who write that the Marquiſſes of *Baden* are deſcended from them of *Verona*.

P. *Then you hold it for certain, that the Marquiſſes of* Baden *are deſcended neither from the* Gothick *Kings, nor from the* Scaligers, *nor the* Urſins, *nor from any Marquiſſes of* Verona *whatſoever; but from the ancient Counts of* Vindoniſſa *and* Altembourg, *who flouriſhed a long time in* Swiſſerland: *from whom alſo the Dukes of* Zeringuen *and* Tek, *the Counts of* Habſpourg *and the Archdukes derive their original.*

G. That is my opinion; and I believe it as true, as it is certain that *Herman* Marqueſs of *Baden* founded a Monaſtery in his Village of *Backenau*, *A. D.* 1116. which *Bruno* Biſhop of *Spire* confirmed at the requeſt of the ſaid *Herman* 1122. and which *Herman* the younger his Son enriched with many endowments in the time of *Lotharius* II. or *Conrade* III. *A. D.* 1145. All which things were done by Marquiſſes of *Baden* (before there were any, according to the opinion of my Adverſaries) and by the Deſcendents of *Herman* Son to *Berchtold* Duke of *Zeringuen.*

P. *I believe your reaſons unanſwerable, and am abſolutely perſwaded by them, that the Marquiſſes of* Baden *did not come out of* Italy. *It lies upon you now to prove, that theſe Princes and thoſe of* Hochberg *were both of the ſame Houſe.*

G. On St. *Bartholomews* day 1490. *Chriſtopher* Marquiſs of *Baden* and *Philip* Marquiſs of *Hochberg* made an agreement, and a reciprocal Teſta-

Teſtament, whereby one of the Houſes ſurviving the other was to be heir thereof, becauſe they both iſſued out of the ſame ſtock, and bore the ſame Arms, or with very little difference. That will and Teſtament was confirmed by the Emperour *Maximilian* I. *A. D.* 1499. which is ſufficient (methinks) to prove, that thoſe Houſes were but Branches from one and the ſame root.

P. *I am ſatisfied with what you have told me concerning the unity and deſcendance of the Houſes of* Baden *and* Hochberg. *Let us now ſee into how many Branches that of* Baden *is at preſent divided.*

G. This Houſe, which had been ſevered into two ever ſince the year 1200. was re-united after the death of *Philip* the laſt of the *Hochbergian* Branch, by virtue of that interchangeable Teſtament made by him and *Chriſtopher*, as we mentioned before. Now *Chriſtopher* inheriting the lands of *Philip A. D.* 1503. poſſeſſed the two Marquiſates till the year 1515. wherein he dyed; and his lands were parted between *Bernard* and *Erneſt* his Children, who are the Heads of the two principal Branches into which this Houſe is divided at this time.

P. *Make a little larger relation of this matter, and ſhow me how the Marquiſſes of* Baden *come from* Bernard, *and thoſe of* Dourlach *from* Erneſt, *both Sons to* Chriſtopher, *who inherited the entire Eſtate of* Philip *Marquiſs of* Hochberg, *except the County of* Newchaſtel *in* Swiſſerland;

ſerland; *which* Jane, *Daughter to the foremen-tioned* Philip, *brought in Dowry to* Lewis *of* Orleans, *and it is ſtill in the hands of* Henry *Duke of* Longueville *his Nephews Son.*

G. By the diviſion thus made between thoſe two Brethren, *Bernerd* had *Baden* with its appurtenances: He Married *Frances* Counteſs of *Luxembourg*, by whom he had *Chriſtopher*, who (after *Philibert* his elder Brother was ſlain at the Battel of *Moncontour*) took upon him the government of his Eſtate. That Prince Married *Cecily* Daughter to *Guſtavus* firſt of that name and of his Family, King of *Sweden*: among other children he begat *Edward Fortunatus* Father to *William*, preſent Marquiſs of *Baden*, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and Judge of the Imperial Chamber at *Spire*. *William* hath had two Wives, and many children: by the firſt, who was born Princeſs of *Hohenzollern*, he hath yet living *Leopold William*, who ſerves the Emperour with great zeal and reputation; *Herman*, Canon of *Collen*, with ſome others, who are yet but young; and *Ferdinand Maximilian* the eldeſt, who knowing that *Mary* Daughter to *Amedeus* IX. Duke of *Savoy* had been Married into his Houſe, was deſirous to renew that alliance, and to that purpoſe Married *Loüyſe* of *Savoy* Daughter to *Thomas* Prince of *Carignan A. D.* 1653. by whom he hath one Son. *Herman* Brother to *William* makes a Branch apart, and hath Children of both Sexes Marriageable.

P. *Hath*

P. *Hath not this Prince* Herman *ſome lands in the Countrey of* Luxembourg, *and a Son Canon of* Collen?

G. Yes; *Erneſt*, Brother to *Bernard*, and Son to *Chriſtopher*, who had for his ſhare the Marquiſates of *Hochberg*, *Pfortzen*, *Weiemberg*, *Baden*, *Uſſyler* and *Rhetel*, took to Wife *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Frederick* V. Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg*: His Son *Charles* Married *Anne* Daughter to *Robert* Prince Palatine, by whom he had many Children, who all died young, except *George Frederick*: He was not to be paralleled for valour and magnanimity, yet was beaten at *Wimpfen* by the misfortune of his powder taking fire while the Battel was fighting, which he thereupon loſt, when he was half-aſſured of the victory. This Prince had two Wives, *Juliana Urſula* Daughter to the Rhingrave *Frederick*, and *Agatha* Daughter to *George* Count of *Erbach*. Of the latter there remain but *Anne* and *Elizabeth*, Princeſſes no leſs knowing than virtuous; and of the former (by whom he had 15. Children) *Catherine Urſula*, *Anna Amelia*, and *Sibyll Magdalen*, who are thus Married; the firſt to *Otho* eldeſt Son to the Landgrave *Maurice*, and the other two to two Counts of *Naſſau Sarbruck*: *Erneſtine* is for her rare virtue and admirable knowledge worthy of an eminent fortune; and *Frederick* their eldeſt Brother, the preſent Prince of *Dourlach*, an incomparable man for his skill in Mathematicks and Opticks, hath had five Wives

Wives and many Children, the eldeſt whereof called by his Fathers name hath Married *Chriſtina Magdalen*, the worthy Siſter of *Charles Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*, and Daughter to *John Caſimir* Prince Palatine of *Deux-ponts*, who in his life-time knew better than any man how to get a powerful aſcendent over the hearts of all that looked upon him. He hath very fine Children by her both for outward features and inward faculties: The youngeſt called *Charlemagne* is eminent for virtue, merit, and military experience; he is married to *Mary Juliana* Counteſs of *Hohenloch*, and hath by her one Son who will equal his courage, and one Daughter who will not be inferiour to her Mother in comelyneſs of body and ſincerity of heart. *Guſtavus Adolph* a younger Brother of this Houſe, is ſerving his apprentiſhip in the ſchool of the King of *Sweden*, and of his Brethren, whom he will equal or ſurpaſs, if God give him life and health, as I wiſh him.

P. *You tell me nothing of the controverſie between theſe two Branches, nor of the ſentence which* Edward Fortunatus *his Succeſſors obtained againſt the Marquiſs* George Frederick *and his Son.*

G. It is not good to rub old ſores that are skin'd over, nor to ſpeak of differences that are ſilenced by a determination, for fear of grieving thoſe perſons whom we reſpect. It is ſufficient for you to know that theſe Princes are good friends, that they have forgotten all that is

is paſt, and endeavour to oblige one another to the uttermoſt of their power. The branch of *Baden* is Catholick, that of *Dourlach* Lutheran, and both zealous in their Religion; but that zeal will not hinder them from being kind to one another as to their perſons, though their intereſt keep them aſunder as to their party. Each branch hath one voice in the Aſſemblies; and the Marquiſs *Frederick* ſhall have precedence there as long as he lives, but after his death the two Branches ſhall take their turns, that is, ſhall precede alternatively, according to the reſolution made at *Munſter* by the laſt Treaty of Peace.

P. *Since we have ſpoken of Houſes in* Germany *that take their turns ſucceſſively, do me the favour to tell me the manner how that alternation is obſerved.*

G. You may ſee in the following figure how they ſit for ten days together; after which they begin again, and continue as they were before; every letter denoting the name of one of the five Houſes that take their turns.

P	M	W	H	B
M	W	B	P	H
W	H	B	P	M
H	W	M	P	B
B	P	H	M	W
P	M	W	B	H
M	P	W	H	B
W	B	H	M	P
H	P	W	B	M
B	W	M	H	P

The five alternating Houſes are,
Pomerania.
Meklebourg.
Wirtemberg.
Heſſe.
Baden.

P. *I wonder the Houſes of* Saxon Lawembourg *and* Anhalt *do not precede theſe five, or at leaſt alternate with them, ſeeing they have had the Electorſhips of* Saxony *and* Brandenbourg *at the ſame time.*

G. The Houſes you laſt mentioned are ſo far from preceding thoſe five that they follow that of *Holſtein*, which comes behind the ſaid five. 'Tis not that thoſe two Houſes are not ancient; on the contrary, I think their antiquity and greatneſs hath done them wrong: for as we have elſewhere ſeen, the Emperour *Sigiſmond* deprived them of the Electoral Dignity, to give it to the Marquiſs of *Miſnia* and the Burgrave of

of *Nuremberg*; which ſo mortified thoſe Princes, that it made them neglect to appear in the Aſſemblies, and gave opportunity to others to take their place.

P. *I have read that thoſe Princes kept the title of Elector long after they had loſt the Electoral Dignity; and when they could not have place in the Electoral Colledge, they cared but little for taking it among the Princes. But tell me ſomething of the Houſe of* Holſtein, *before we ſpeak more fully of the other two.*

G. I think I have told you already, that the Houſe of *Holſtein* and that of *Oldembourg* are but one; that it was derived from *Witikind* of *Saxony*; and that after the death of *Chriſtopher* III. King of *Denmark*, the *Danes* choſe *Chriſtian* Count of *Oldembourg* into his place, at the intreaty of *Adolph* Duke of *Schleswick* his Unkle by the Mothers ſide, who leaving no iſſue behind him made this Nephew of his heir of a great part of the *Cimbrick Cherſoneſe*: and from that *Chriſtian* it is, that all the Princes are deſcended, who have Reigned in *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Schleſwick*, and *Holſtein*, ever ſince that time.

P. *The Kingdom of* Sweden *having been ſevered from that of* Denmark *under the Reign of the Princes of the Houſe of* Oldembourg, *it is fit you ſhew me when and how that came to paſs.*

G. I ſhall do it with all my heart, both becauſe you deſire it, and becauſe I ſhall be glad

(in

(in doing that) to give ſome teſtimony of my gratitude to thoſe Princes, who have almoſt all of them obliged me. You muſt know then, that *Chriſtian* the firſt of that name, being 23. years of age, was choſen King of *Denmark A. D.* 1448. A year after, he Married *Dorothy* Daughter to *John* Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg*, and Widow to *Chriſtopher* the laſt King of *Denmark*. That Prince having Reigned happily 33. years in *Denmark*, 32. in *Norway*, and 25. in *Sweden*, dyed afterwards *A. D.* 1482. leaving two Sons, who ſucceeded him in this manner; *John* his eldeſt was King of thoſe three Kingdoms after his Father, and gave his Brother *Frederick* the moyety of his Hereditary lands: Then having raigned peaceably, he dyed *A. D.* 1513. leaving his Son *Chriſtian* II. to be his Succeſſor. That Prince was born *A. D.* 1481. and Married *Iſabel* Siſter to the Emperour *Charles* V. by whom he had *Dorothy* Electoreſs of *Brandenbourg*; *Chriſtina* Dutcheſs of *Milan*, and afterwards of *Lorraine*; and *John*, who dyed bearing arms under the Emperour *Charles* his Unkle by the Mothers ſide, in the year 1532. *Chriſtiern* otherwiſe *Chriſtian* II. forſook the way of his Father and Grand-father, and became ſo cruel a Tyrant, that the *Swedes* drove him out of their Countrey, and placed upon the Throne *Guſtavus Vaſe*, Son to *Erick* a *Swediſh* Knight, *A. D.* 1523. And nine years after the *Danes* caſt him in priſon, where he ended his dayes in five more.

P. *Mex*

P. *Men ſeem to be of a worſe condition than beaſts; inaſmuch as Eagles do not ingender Pigeons, nor Lions Stags; yet Heroical perſons rarely beget their like. The greateſt men are ſubject to the misfortune of ſeeing their children unworthy to ſucceed them. But what came to paſs after the impriſonment of* Chriſtiern?

G. We will ſpeak in another place of what followed in *Sweden*. In *Denmark* the Nobility had an honourable memory and high eſteem of the virtues of *Chriſtian* I. and of *John*: wherefore inſtead of the Tyrant, who was priſoner at *Sunderbourg*, they placed *Frederick* his Unkle by the Fathers ſide upon the Throne, who was very aged, and yet he introduced the Doctrine of *Luther* into *Denmark* and his own hereditary Principalities. That *Frederick* was the firſt Duke of *Holſtein*, which is held in fee of the Empire, as *Schleſwick* is of *Denmark*; but neither he, nor his Son *Chriſtian* III. durſt ſend any body to the Diets, fearing they ſhould be but ill uſed for having aſſumed the place of a Brother-in-law to two Emperours.

P. *It may be thoſe Princes not daring to ſend their Deputies to the Diets, loſt the Rank they held there.*

G. *Frederick* I. of that name King of *Denmark*, was Duke of *Holſtein* before he came to the Crown; yet I cannot tell whether he had taken place in the Aſſemblies of the Empire. But to purſue the diſcourſe we have begun,

that Prince left two Sons, the elder of whom was King after him by the name of *Chriſtian* III. and *Adolph* his younger ſon, Duke of *Holſtein*. They had both Children, from whom all the Princes of this Houſe are deſcended: For *Chriſtian* was Father to King *Frederick* II. and to *John* the younger; and *Adolph*, to *John Adolph* and to *Frederick* Archbiſhop of *Bremen* and Biſhop of *Lubeck*.

P. *I pray draw out this Genealogy a little more at length.*

G. *Frederick* II. Husband to *Sophia*, Daughter to *Ulrick* Duke of *Meklebourg*, had one Son and four Daughters, very worthy of your knowledge: For as much as *Elizabeth* the eldeſt was Married to *Henry Julius* Duke of *Brunſwick*, *Anne* to *James* VI. King of *Scotland*, who afterwards got all Great *Britain* by the deed and Teſtament of *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, *Auguſta*, to *John Adolph* Duke of *Holſtein* and *Hedwig*, to *Chriſtian* II. Elector of *Saxony*. His Son and Succeſſor to the Crown, was *Chriſtian* IV. a great King both in time of peace and war. That Prince, who admiring the worth of *Henry* the Great King of *France*, made him his pattern in every thing, and had at the leaſt as many Sons as he, as well Legitimate as Natural: But there remains no more of the lawful begotten than his Succeſſor *Frederick* II. who hath already many Children, and may have more.

P. *This King is eſteemed throughout all Europe*

rope, *for a knowing Prince, and one that ſets a value upon good men: Let us ſee the Deſcendents of* John *the younger.*

G. That Prince was even goodneſs it ſelf, and God bleſſed him exceedingly; for he had 23. Children by *Elizabeth* Dutcheſs of *Brunſwick* and *Agnes Hedwig* Princeſs of *Anhalt*, his wives. Two of thoſe Princes dyed in *Hungary*, one at the illuſtrious Colledge of *Tubing*; two departed in their infancy, and four lived to be Married, who are Fathers of many Lords, either reſiding at *Sunderbourg*, *Northbourg*, *Glugsbourg*, and *Plone*, or elſe ſeeking their fortune in the Wars. The Daughters were thus Married; the eldeſt, to a Duke of *Lignitz*; three of the youngeſt, to three Dukes of *Pomerania*; *Anne Sabina*, to a Duke of *Wirtemberg*; *Eleonor Sophia*, to a Prince of *Anhalt*; and *Margaret*, to *John* Count of *Naſſau*. The reſt dyed in their Cradle, except *Eleonor*, who is ſtill unmarried, and leads an exemplary life; ſhe is 67. years old, yet very lovely for her age, and worthy to be viſited by Kings; for ſhe hath a marvellous way of entertaining thoſe Princes and Ladies that do her the honour to ſee her: And I can aſſure you, I never ſaw better ſweet-meats ſerved any where than at her houſe, nor ſtrangers received with greater civility.

P. Tell me, I pray, a little more particularly, who are the Deſcendents of John *the younger Brother to King* Frederick *II.*

G. Alexander his eldeſt Son had ſix Sons,

whereof the eldeſt Married a counteſs of *Delmenhorſt*, and at his death left one Son and two Daughters by her: *Frederick*, *Philip*, and *Joachim Erneſt*, Brethren to *Alexander*, are yet living; the firſt hath three Sons, and as many Daughters; the ſecond hath but two Sons alive, five Princeſſes Married, and one to Marry; the third hath four Princes, two whereof have commanded in the King of *Spains* ſervice, and three Princeſſes ſtill Maids, all beautiful and witty, and brought up in the School of a Father inferiour to none in the Empire for prudence, and of a Mother that hath but few equals in all kind of virtues.

P. *Do not forget the Deſcendents of* Adolph *younger Brother to* Chriſtian *III. of that name.*

G. *Adolph* had many Sons that dyed young; one that was Archbiſhop of *Bremen*, and *John Adolph* his eldeſt Married *Auguſta* Daughter to *Frederick* II. King of *Denmark*. Theſe two had iſſue, *John* Biſhop of *Lubeck*, a comely and liberal Prince, who dying left his Son *John Auguſtus* ſtill very young, but pretty, and exceeding hopeful: *Frederick* this Biſhops elder Brother hath the moyety of the Dutchies of *Schleſwick*, *Holſtein*, *Stormar*, and *Dithmarſh*; and takes turns with the King of *Denmark* in the adminiſtration of Juſtice, in having place and voice in the Aſſemblies of the Empire, and in all other Rights of Regality. This Prince, great in knowledge and magnanimity, hath for a partner in his bed and felicity, *Mary Elizabeth* Daughter

Daughter to *John George* Elector of *Saxony*, by whom he hath ſtill living three Sons, and five Daughters, four whereof are Married, to *John* Prince of *Anhalt*, *Guſtavus Adolph* Duke of *Meklebourg*, *Lewis* Landgrave of *Darmſtadt*, and *Charles Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*: And all theſe Princeſſes have Children.

P. *If promiſes be debts, you are bound to tell me to whom the other Princeſſes of this Houſe are Married.*

G. Elizabeth Juliana Daughter to *Frederick* who reſides at *Northourg*, Married *Antony Ulrick* Duke of *Brunſwick A. D.* 1656. Her Couſins, Daughters to *Philip*, are thus Married; *Mary Elizabeth*, to *George Albert* Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg*, *Auguſta* to *Erneſt Gunther* Duke of *Holſtein*; *Chriſtina*, to *Chriſtian* Duke of *Saxony*; and *Dorothy*, to *Chriſtian Lewis* Duke of *Luneburg*: *Hedwig* is ſtill to Marry; and *Sophia Hedwig* dyed after ſhe had born two Children to her Husband *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*.

P. *Doth the whole Countrey of* Schleſwick, Holſtein, *and their appurtenances, yield a great Revenue?*

G. All theſe Dutchies together make up above 7000. Crowns of yearly Rent: And although a great part of the Countrey be taken up in Lakes and Foreſts, yet it abounds with all things, by reaſon of the Ocean and Baltick Seas that make many Harbors there. There come

I would in good manners add one Cypher more, and make it 70000. leſt the Eſtates of many private Engliſh Gentlemen ſhould exceed the Revenue of theſe Dutchies.

out of *Jutland* above 12000. head of Cattle every year, and a great number of Horſes, which are to be brought into the Caſtle of *Gottorf*, and if his Highneſs will have any of them, he may take them at 18. Rix-dollars a piece. The Dutchy of *Holſtein* contains 8000. Ploughs, and yet it contributes no more than the City of *Lubeck* to the neceſſities of the Empire: The Peaſants there are ſlaves; and the Nobility, rich, ambitious and valiant, as much as any in *Europe*.

P. *I have heard you ſay, you have drunk ſo good* Spaniſh *Wine at* Gottorf, Plone, Redwiſch, *and* Eutin, *that I am perſwaded the remembrance thereof hath made you ſtay ſo long in* Holſtein. *Yet you muſt come from thence, and ſee whether the* Romeldenph *of* Ratzebourg, *and the Beer of* Zerbſt *will be able to keep you at the houſes of the Dukes of* Saxony, *and the Princes of* Anhalt.

G. If you would give me leave to entertain you at large about the generoſity of the Princes of *Holſtein*, we would ſpeak of the Horſes, Rings, and other gentile preſents that were offered me at *Gottorf*, *Plone*, *Redwiſch*, and *Eutin:* but ſince we muſt paſs into the Dutchy of *Lawembourg*, and into the Principality of *Anhalt*, I ſhall tell you, that the Duke *Auguſtus*, and the Prince *Chriſtian*, have by their favours ſufficiently obliged me to be a particular ſervant to their Houſe, which hath at the ſame time afforded Electors both of *Saxony* and *Brandenbourg*.

P. *I*

P. *I ſhall be glad to know when and how thoſe Princes got and loſt thoſe Electorſhips, with the antiquity of their Houſes, their Titles, their Alliances, their Religion, the number of the Branches whereinto they are divided, and other things that you ſhall judge requiſite for my inſtruction.*

G. No man denies but that theſe Houſes ſprung out of one and the ſame root, and that they are reckoned amongſt the ancienteſt in Chriſtendom; but I hold it a vanity to enquire for a deſcent from Father to Son ever ſince *Adams* time to ours; becauſe the Ancients were more ſtudious to deſerve an immortal glory, than to ſeek for Writers to tranſmit the ſame to poſterity. The Author of the Genealogical Tables which the Prince *Auguſtus* gave me at *Pleskau* in the year 1650. affirms, that theſe Princes were Kings, Dukes, and Generals of the *Saxons*, even before the coming of Chriſt; and ſets down for Head of this Family *Berenthobald*, who in the quality of King led the *Saxons* to the War againſt *Hermanford* King of *Thuringia*, *A. D.* 524. *Limneus* goes higher, ſaying they come from *Aſcana* Son to *Gomer*, Nephew to *Japhet Noahs* Son. However it be, this Houſe is extremely ancient, it being above 1000. years ſince *Berenthobald* II. and III. were Generals of the *Saxons* againſt *Clovis* II. and *Dagobert* Kings of *France*, and ſince *Clovis* III. King of *France* Married *Batildis* Daughter to *Beranger*, a Princeſs of this Houſe.

All which things make it evident, that this Family was come to full growth before many very noble ones were produced.

P. *Seeing thoſe Princes were Kings, or Dukes of the* Saxons, *how comes it to paſs that they kept not that Dignity?*

G. Thoſe titles were not always Hereditary. Anciently the *Saxons*, and many other people choſe a Duke or a King, when they ſtood in need of one for the War; otherwiſe their State was Ariſtocratical, and Dignities deſcended not to their heirs. In the days of *Charlemagne* *Witikind* Head of the *Saxons* had *Aribo Beranger* (his Son or Brother-in-law) for his Lieutenant General: And when they were vanquiſhed by the valour of *Charles*, and reconciled to him by the mediation of *Henry* Count of *Henneberg*, *Charlemagne* honoured *Witikind* with the quality of Duke, and *Aribo Berango* with that of Count of *Aſcania*, *Ballenſtet*, and *Hircinia*, to them and their poſterity. When they were dead, the Deſcendents of that Houſe became Chriſtians, and the Emperour was Godfather to *Charles*, Father to *Poppo*, who took to Wife *Syndovine* Daughter to *Lewis* the *Debonaire* Emperour and King of *France*; from whom all the Princes of this Houſe are propagated.

P. *This indeed is a great alliance; but tell me how they came to be Dukes of* Saxony *and Marquiſſes of* Brandenbourg.

G. *Otho* the Great Count of *Aſcania*, *Ballenſtet*,

lenſtet, and *Wolpe*, having Married *Hileca* Daughter to *Magnus* Duke of *Saxony*, had by her *Albertus Urſus*, who by the favour of the Emperour *Conrade* III. was made Marquis and Elector of *Brandenbourg*, the Houſe of *Stade* being extinguiſhed, which had enjoyed that Marquiſate a long time. A little after, *Henry Leo* Duke of *Saxony* and *Brunſwick* having diſobliged the Emperour *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, was degraded from his Dignity, and the ſame given to *Bernard* Son to *Albertus Urſus* in the Diet of *Wirsbourg* 1169. which dignity continued in his Family till the year 1423. as that of Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg* did till 1417.

P. *Do not Princes offend againſt the maximes of true Politicks, when they make their Subjects too great?*

G. Theodoſius Duke of *Braganſa* and the richeſt Lord in *Portugal*, being diſſatisfied with *Philip* III. his Soveraign, becauſe he would not ſuffer the Duke to walk equal by his ſide, abſented himſelf from Court; and the Kings ſervants foreſeeing what danger there might be, to let a perſon go away diſcontented that had ſo great an eſtate and authority in a Kingdom full of bad humours, entreated his Majeſty to ſatisfie him before he returned from *Caſtile*. The King commanded he ſhould be brought to him; the Duke came, and being at Court, the King with an extraordinary ſweetneſs ſaid to him, *Pedid duque*, Ask what you would have, my Lord: the Duke, whoſe heart was ſwelled up

up with his riches, anſwered, *Senor, los mayores de vueſtra Majeſtad, que tanbien han ſido los mios, hizieron tantas mercedes a mi caſa, que no me queda nada que pedir*; Sir, your Majeſties Anceſtors, who were mine alſo, have beſtowed ſo many favours and bounties upon my Houſe, that there remains nothing for me to ask. Every body was ſurprized at this diſcourſe: For although it be honourable for the Sea to communicate it ſelf through the rivers, and for the Soveraign to aggrandize his beſt deſerving Subjects; yet the Sea ought not to cover all the earth, nor the King to diffuſe his Royal graces too prodigally upon a Subject: Otherwiſe the rivers will become Sea, and the ſervant, Maſter; which cannot but prove very prejudicial. As then the Planets would have but little regard to the Sun, if they had no need of his light; nor the ſervant to his Maſter, if he could do him no more good: So Great men ought to be very circumſpect in the diſtribution of their favours, if they would not loſe that honour and reſpect which their inferiors give them.

P. *There are few Houſes in* Germany *that have ſo long poſſeſſed two Secular Electorſhips at a time, as this hath done. Let us ſee how it loſt them.*

G. Otho and *Bernard*, Sons to *Albertus Urſus*, divided this Houſe into two Branches: The firſt was Elector of *Brandenbourg*, and the latter of *Saxony*, who fixed himſelf at *Wittemberg*,

berg, and took for his principal diſtinctive Coat a Bend Fleury Vert on a Field Barry Or and Sable. There have been 13. Electors of *Brandenbourg* deſcended from *Otho*, whereof the laſt was *John* IV. of that name. From *Bernard* there came in a direct Male line the Dukes of Lower *Saxony* and the Princes of *Anhalt*; the firſt by the way of *Albert* I. of that name, and *Helen* Daughter to the Emperour *Otho* IV. and the ſecond by the way of *Henry* to whom the Emperour *Frederick Barbaroſſa* gave the title of Prince of *Anhalt*. There have been 8. Electors of *Saxony* of this Family: The laſt was *Albert* II. after whom the Emperour *Sigiſmond* preferred *Frederick* the Warlike Marqueſs of *Miſnia* before *Erick* V. *Alberts* Couſin and lawful Succeſſor; to teach us, that all things under the Sun are flitting and tranſitory, and that the greateſt Houſes may be humbled and brought low.

P. *Hath a Soveraign any power to take Principalities from one Houſe and transfer them unto another?*

G. A King gives account of his actions to none but God, and can do almoſt all that he will; he ought nevertheleſs to act equitably, and not to plunge men of courage into deſpair, than which nothing is more dangerous. They that have loſt their eſtate, think they have nothing more to loſe, and are capable of making the Greateſt repent of the wrongs they have done them. The Soveraign then may take back the benefits

benefits he beſtowed, when he that received them is become altogether unworthy of them; But before he come to that extremity, he ſhould endeavour to reduce them unto their duty; and having tryed all fair means, he muſt be very careful that he do not faintly and looſly execute the reſolutions that he hath generouſly taken; nor raſhly undertake a great action, which prudence will afterwards perſwade him to abandon. A Prince ſhould think ſeriouſly of a thing before he enters upon it; but having begun, he ſhould carry it through: For there is nothing ſo repugnant to the authority of Kings, as to act by halves; nor any thing that ſo much encourages Subjects to Rebellion, as to ſee that their Maſters are afraid of them.

P. *Since the death of* Francis Albert, *who was ſlain by General* Torſtenſon *in* Sileſia, *I hear but little ſpeech of theſe Dukes; which makes me conjecture, there are but few of them left.*

G. Though *Francis* II. had ten Sons, ſix whereof were Married, yet there remain but *Julius Henry*, *Francis Charles*, and *Francis Henry*, Brethren, all without hopes of having Children; and one Son of *Julius Henry* called *Francis Herman*, who probably will have but few, having Married his Couſin, who is exceeding weak, and of a ſtature to bear few or no Children. This Prince is at preſent in the ſervice of the King of *Sweden* againſt *Poland*.

P. *It were great pity that a Houſe ſo ancient and*

and ſo illuſtrious ſhould totally fail; but if that do come to paſs, who will be the heir of it?

G. The Princes of *Anhalt*, as we have ſeen, come from the ſame ſource; beſides which right, they have that of Confraternity. Now, this Houſe is one of the moſt numerous in the Empire; and becauſe it is equally divided amongſt many, the Princes are not of the richeſt. *Joachim Erneſt*, who was the only perſon left to the Family, dyed at 50. years of age, *A. D.* 1566. and had 16. Children; of whom *Anne Mary* was Married to *Joachim Frederick* Duke of *Lignitz*; *Elizabeth*, to *Joachim George* Elector of *Brandenbourg*; *Sibyll*, to *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*; *Agnes Hedwig*, to *Auguſtus* Elector of *Saxony*, and after his death to *John* the younger Duke of *Holſtein*; *Dorothy Mary*, to *John* Duke of *Saxon-Weimar*; and *Anne Sophia*, to *Gunther Albert* Count of *Schurtzebourg*. The Sons divided the Principality into four equal ſhares, becauſe *Auguſtus* ſaid he would be content with a Penſion for his life, not intending to Marry: But at laſt upon ſecond thoughts he came back into *Germany*, where he Married *Sibyll* Counteſs of *Solmes*: and his Brethren choſe rather to give him a part of the land, than pay him a Penſion. So *John George* had *Diſſau*, *Chriſtian* reſided at *Berembourg*, *Auguſtus* fixt his abode at *Pleskau*, *Rodolph* at *Zerbſt*, and *Lewis* at *Cotheim*; and every one of them hath Children.

P. *This*

P. *This way of sharing may bring their House to a very weak condition: But how do they govern their Estate?*

G. Being all of equal authority, and one having no power or command over the lands of another, they submit to the eldest of the Family, who hath the direction of affairs, calls the Princes together when there is need of having their advice upon any matter of importance: And as they have but one voice in the Diets, so one of them represents all the rest there. To conclude, these Princes are commonly brave, learned, active, bold, courteous, and obliging. The two *Christians* of *Berembourg*, Father and Son, have born arms with honour; *Augustus* hath extracted Soveraign remedies out of *Chymistry*; and *Lewis* hath established the Society of great Wits, or the Fructifying Company, whereinto there are at this time admitted and enrolled above 20. Princes, and five or 600. Lords, Gentlemen, or Doctors, and other persons of knowledge.

P. *There is much talk of this Society, and I have not yet learnt what is the principal aim and intent of it.*

G. This Prince having travelled through all *Europe*, and seen that *France* and *Italy* are full of excellent books in the language of the Countrey, whereby Ladies, and Great men who by reason of their weighty employments cannot have leisure to learn Foraign Languages, have the means to be instructed in all that con-

ceros

cerns them; was desirous to introduce the same advantage into *Germany*, and hath succeeded so prosperously in his design, that now the *Virtuosi* of our Countrey cultivate their Mother-tongue, enrich and adorn it, translating all the books that they count worthy of their pains.

P. *There are some that undervalue Translations, and endeavour to cast an imputation upon them, as pernicious to the Commonwealth, being causes of lazyness and negligence.*

G. I know there be some learned men are sorry that an entrance is opened into the Temple of Wisdom through an easier door than Greek and Latin: But notwithstanding their opinion, it is certain that Great men should not be debarred of the knowledge necessary for them, under the specious pretenses, that the Latin and Greek Tongues will be lost in *Germany*, if men may find Learning in their native Language.

P. *If Prince* Lewis *hath been fortunate in this commendable enterprize, his Countrey is greatly obliged to him: For these translations do not forbid any man to look into the Originals, being only for such as have not time to learn the Languages which furnish us with books. But of what Religion are the Princes of these two Houses?*

G. Duke *Francis Herman* and *Julius Henry* his Father, who are at this time the eldest and ruling

ruling Princes of *Saxon-Lawembourg*, are turned Catholicks; the Brethren of the forenamed *Julius Henry* are Proteſtants, as alſo the Prince of *Anhalt* reſiding at *Zerbſt*: All the reſt are of the Reformed Religion, and very zealous in it. The firſt ſort of theſe Princes take the title of Dukes of *Saxony*, *Hungary*, and *Weſtphalia*; the other Princes of *Anhalt* aſſume that of Counts of *Aſcania*, Lords of *Barembourg* and *Zerbſt*. *Lawembourg* is a fine place upon the *Elbe*, but the Caſtle is ruined, and the Duke lives at *Ratzebourg*, though he have nothing there but the Caſtle, the City belonging to the Duke of *Meklebourg*. The River of *Sala* croſſes the Principality of *Anhalt*, which makes it no leſs beautiful than fruitful: But the Countrey is very little, and the Princes ſtand in need of a greater eſtate to exerciſe the liberality to which they have ſo ſtrong an inclination.

P. *Liberality is the proper virtue of Princes, and I think it were better for a great Lord to be profuſe than avaritious.*

G. Every man ſhould take a true meaſure of his ability, and give no more than he can well bear. Prodigality hath a ſemblance of ſomething more noble than avarice hath, and really it is leſs odious: nay, they that gain by it, make it paſs for a virtue; but perchance it is more prejudicial to poſterity, and no leſs dangerous than the other extreme. Though a King ſhould give away his whole Kingdom, he would

not

not ſatisfie all that ask, no nor all that think they deſerve much of him. It is then more convenient to give with reaſon, and never to draw ſo near the bottom, but that Great men may always have wherewithal to gratifie perſons of merit; and above all, they ſhould take ſpecial care that their liberality be exerciſed without the oppreſſion of the People, to avoid murmuring which may produce Rebellion.

P. *There is no need of making Laws againſt giving too much; Princes are not ſo free, and there are not many of them that want a Tutor or Overſeer in that kind. Let us go forward, if you pleaſe, to that which remains concerning the Princes of the Empire.*

G. Seeing we reſerve the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Lorraine*, and the Princes of *Orange*, for another place; we have no more to ſpeak of, but the Princes of *Montbeliard*, *Henneberg*, *Zolleren*, *Aremberg*, and *Eaſt-Frizeland*.

P. *Did you not ſay enough of the Princes of* Montbeliard, *when you were diſcourſing of the Dukes of* Wirtemberg?

G. It is true indeed that the Principality of *Montbeliard* belongs to the Houſe of *Wirtemberg* yet ſince the year 1397. at which time *Eberhard* the younger Married *Henrietta* Heireſs of that fair Territory. Yet it is good for you to know, that the preſent Prince is Son to *Lewis Frederick*, Grandchild to *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who having had many Sons, gave to his youngeſt the Counties of *Montbeliard*

and *Horbourg*, the Soveraignty of *Ericourt*, the Lordſhips of *Blamont*, *Clairval*, *Paſſevant*, and *Richeville*, with the Barony of *Granges*. This Prince hath Salt-pits and Iron-works that yield him great profit, and a voice in the Aſſemblies, but hath never a Child: His younger Brother keeps his reſidence at *Horbourg*, and is Married to *Anne* of *Coligny*, by whom he hath Children.

P. *It is ſaid that the Prince of* Montbeliard *had heretofore a hundred thouſand Rix-dollars yearly Rent. Paſs we on to thoſe of* Henneberg.

G. Theſe Lords have not long had the quality of Prince. Their Family was utterly extinguiſhed in the year 1583. and their Principality paſt into the power of the Dukes of *Saxony* by virtue of a Confraternity. The ſeat of the old Race was at *Eſſe ſungen*, where their Sepulchres are yet to be ſeen, and many Epitaphs that evidence the Grandeur of that Illuſtrious Houſe, which was in great credit in the time of *Charlemagne*.

P. *There are few Genealogies to be ſeen wherein the Counts of* Henneberg *have not a place: But ſince they are all gone, I had rather you ſhould give me an account of thoſe of* Hohenzollern.

G. The Houſe of *Hohenzollern* is a Branch of that of *Brandenbourg*; and ſo this Prince is Vicar to the great Chamberlain of the Empire, and gives the Emperour water to waſh when he eats

eats in Ceremony, if the Elector of *Brandenbourg* be not preſent. *Ertel Frederick* Count of *Hohenzolleren* was made Prince at the Diet of *Ratisbon* in the year 1623. and all the eldeſt Brethren of his Houſe bear the ſame quality. The preſent Prince Married the Daughter and Heireſs to the Count *Henry* of *Berg*; his youngeſt Brother is Gentleman of the Chamber to the Emperour, and the middlemoſt Canon of *Collen*. Theſe Lords have eſtate enough, and might be rich, yet they are in bad condition for want of order and good Husbandry.

P. *The Princes of* Hohenzolleren *are of very high extraction, and have a very Noble habitation at* Echinguen, *where the Caſtle is magnificent; and* Hohenzolleren *is ſeated upon the brow of a high hill. I would willingly know how thoſe of* Aremberg *were made Princes of the Empire.*

G. Theſe Princes having performed great ſervices to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and eſpecially to the King of *Spain*, were advanced to the higheſt Commands in the Low Countreys where they were often honoured with the Collar of the Golden Fleece; and at laſt obtained a place among the Princes of the Empire by the favour of the Emperour *Maximilian* II. Duke *Albert*, Son to *Robert* Duke of *Aremberg* and *Claudina* Counteſs of the *Rhine*, Married *Mary* Daughter and Heireſs to *Everard* Prince of *Barenſon*, by whom he hath left *Octavius* (who at this day bears the quality of Prince of *Aremberg*)

berg) and *Isabel* Married to *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*. This Princess is of incomparable beauty and prudence, and the Prince her Brother extremely courteous.

P. *Being this House hath its lands and habitations upon the King of* Spains *Territories, you may discourse of it more at large in another place. Let us now see that of* East-Friseland; *and tell me when it obtained the quality of Count, and lastly of Prince.*

G. The Counts of *East-Friseland* and those of *Oldenbourg* did always maintain great feuds and emulations between one another till the year 1656. At which time *Antony Gunther* dying without issue lawfully begotten, left the King of *Denmark* and the Duke of *Holstein* for his Successors. And I believe the cause of that mis-understanding might proceed from hence; That *Mary* of *Jeuer* being Married to *Enno* Count of *East-Friseland*, and having Children by him, did yet make *John* Count of *Oldenbourg* her Heir; and again, that the Counts of *East-Friseland* being less ancient than those of *Oldenbourg*, are as rich, as well or better allied than they, and do also exercise Soveraign Justice over their Subjects.

P. *I know the Counts of* Oldenbourg *are the ancienter: But when did those of* East-Friseland *begin?*

G. *Ulrick Sirxena*, Lord of *Gietziel* and other lands, was made Count of *East-Friseland* by the Emperour *Frederick* III. *A. D.* 145[illegible] That

That Lord Married *Folca*, who brought him in Dowry the Lordſhips of *Eſcui* and *Stetendorf*. Of that Marriage came *Edzar* I. of that name; Father of *Eno*, who Married *Mary* of *Jeuer*, by whom he had *Edzar* II. That Count aſpired higher than his Predeceſſors, and took to Wife *Catherine* Daughter to *Guſtavus* I. King of *Sweden*, of whom he begat *John* (from whom the Counts of *Ritberg* are deſcended) and *Eno* II. who Married *Anne* Daughter to *Adolph* Duke of *Holſtein*, by whom he had *Ulrick* Husband to *Juliana* Daughter to *Lewis* Landgrave of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*. This Princeſs remains a Widow, and makes it her buſineſs to bring up her Children well; of whom *Edzar Ferdinand* is ſtill travelling abroad, *George Chriſtian* is at home with her, and *Eno Lewis* her eldeſt Son having continued ſome time at the Imperial Court, was there made Counſellor to the Emperour, and Gentleman of his Chamber. Afterward in the year 1653. he was raiſed unto the rank and dignity of Prince by the Emperour *Ferdinand* III. at the Diet of *Ratisbon*. This Prince was contracted to *Henrietta* Daughter to *Frederick Henry* of *Naſſau* Prince of *Orange*, while they were both Children; but the parties not liking one another, the Articles of Marriage were broken, and *Eno Lewis* Married *Juſtina Sophia* Counteſs of *Barly*, *November* 7. 1656. I am told for certain that this Prince hath 150000. Crowns Revenue, and thereby is well enabled to maintain the quality

he bears; which is annext to the eldeſt alone, the other being no more than Counts, and having no part in the Countrey.

P. *We are at length arrived to the end of this journey. Let us reſt a while, and afterwards we will take a view of the Eccleſiaſtical Princes.*

G. I am content, and ſhall in the mean time prepare my ſelf to tell you, how the Eccleſiaſtical Princes live in *Germany*, how many they are, what order of place they obſerve in the Aſſemblies, by whom and how they were raiſed to their dignity, to what Juriſdiction they are ſubject; and all other neceſſary things that ſhall come into my head.

The end of the Fifth Dialogue.

DIALOGUE VI.

Of the Eccleſiaſtical Princes of the Empire.

P. *THE Princes Eccleſiaſtical hold the firſt rank in the Empire, and you place them after the Seculars; but it matters not much, ſince it is neither for want of reſpect, nor of knowing*

knowing their due place. Well then, let us ſee whether the Empire be as venerable by the Mitres of its Prelates, as it is formidable by the Sword of its Souldiers.

G. There is never a Countrey in Chriſtendom where Prelates have ſo much power as in *Germany*. They are almoſt all Great Princes, and as abſolute over the Temporalty of their Benefices, as a Secular Elector is over his Lands. Theſe riches are now and then miſapplied to bad uſes; and the debauches made by Churchmen, their great Train, the dogs, the horſes they maintain, the Jeſters they keep for their pleaſure, and their diſſolute life, obliged our Predeceſſors to upbraid them with it, and allow us to believe that they gave occaſion to Doctor *Luther* to preach againſt their Doctrine as well as their evil converſation. Yet ſtill it is often ſeen that the ſame Prelate poſſeſſeth two, three, nay a greater number of huge Benefices of the Empire, and ſpends the Revenue thereof without any ſcruple of conſcience in worldly pomp, continual debauches, and other things unworthy of their rank and profeſſion.

P. *Theſe Princes give themſelves but little (if at all) to their ſtudies, miſuſing their riches, and think it beneath their greatneſs to preach the word of God, and do other Eccleſiaſtical functions: But they do not all live alike.*

G. Whatever is ſpoken againſt ungodly perſons, doth nothing concern the truly religious.

There are Prelates of ſundry conditions, and different humours; ſome are voluptuous, and others chaſt; ſome love nothing but dogs and bouffons, others make much of worthy perſons. Heretofore, beſides the three Eccleſiaſtical Electors, there were five Archbiſhops, and thirty Biſhops that had ſeat and voice in the Aſſemblies of the Empire: At this time there are not ſo many, becauſe the Archbiſhopricks of *Magdebourg*, *Bremen*, and *Riga*, and the Biſhopricks of *Halberſtad*, *Minden*, and *Verden*, have been changed into Secular Principalities; as thoſe alſo of *Beſanſon*, *Verdun*, *Metz*, and *Toul*, were diſmembred from the Empire, and inſeparably united to the Lands of *Spain* and *France* by the laſt Treaty of Peace: And thoſe of *Valeſia*, *Loſanna*, and *Chur*, have been aboliſhed by the *Suiſſes*. So that at preſent there is none but *Saltzbourg* that holds the rank of Archbiſhop in the Colledge of the Princes, and about twenty Biſhops.

P. *The* German *Church muſt without queſtion have loſt very much by the laſt Treaty of Peace, where three Archbiſhopricks and ſix Biſhopricks were Secularized.*

G. *Riga* was cut off from the Empire before, and all thoſe other Benefices were in the power of the *Lutherans*, who had no mind to let them ſlip out of their fingers: And ſo methinks the generality of the Proteſtant Princes hath loſt more by this Treaty than the *German* Church; ſeeing the Princes have now no more means to provide

provide for their younger Brethren, as they had before. For in real truth the Elector of *Saxony* had *Magdebourg*; the King of *Denmark Bremen*, and ſome other Lords the Biſhopricks whereof we have laſt made mention.

P. *The King of* Spain *having the Archbiſhopricks of* Beſanſon *and* Cambray *in his poſſeſſion, there is little likelyhood that thoſe Archbiſhops ſhould come to the Diets of the Empire.*

G. I do not know whether thoſe Prelates have loſt the right they had to ſit in the Aſſemblies of the Empire; but it is certain that *Cambray* doth not challenge the place of an Archbiſhoprick there, though it have gotten that name amongſt the Prelates of the Low Countreys by the augmentation of Biſhopricks in *Flanders*, which King *Philip* II. made in the beginning of his Reign. That Prelate keeps his ancient title, and always qualifies himſelf Duke of *Cambray*, Count of *Cambreſis*, and Prince of the ſacred Empire. The Biſhops of *Mets*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, do alſo bear the title of Princes of the Empire, though they neither ſend any more to the Diets, nor have the ſame power which formerly they had.

P. *There being ſo many Lutheran Biſhopricks converted into a Secular State, I do not think the Proteſtants have many in their poſſeſſion.*

G. They have none but *Lubeck*, which belongs to the Houſe of *Holſtein* ever ſince the year

year 1547. when *Balthaſar* of *Rantzau* died. When I was in that Countrey, *John* Duke of *Sehleſwick* and *Holſtein* was Biſhop thereof, and laid out the Revenue of his Benefice in doing good to the poor, and maintaining Gentlemen that had not means to raiſe themſelves at their own charge. That Prince dyed *A. D.* 1650. and had one of his Brothers Sons for his Succeſſor, young in years, but very hopeful. This Prelate makes his reſidence at *Eutin*, a fair ſeat upon a Lake, four leagues diſtant from *Lubeck*.

P. *Since you have done with the Benefices in* Germany *which have ſuffered ſome alteration, you will be ſo kind as to ſpeak of the others, and to begin with* Saltzbourg *ſo much famed for its abundance of Salt, which makes that Prelate extraordinary rich, and for the ſituation of the City, which puts it into the rank of the faireſt and ſtrongeſt in* Europe.

G. Dignities are not only conſiderable for the ſtrength, riches, and beauty of a place, but alſo, and more eſpecially, for the rank they give unto the perſons that poſſeſs them. The Archbiſhop of *Saltzbourg* is Legate born of the Apoſtolick See; he alternates with the Archdukes in the Diets of the Empire, and gives place to none but the Electors. *Paris*, Count of *Ladron*, was long in poſſeſſion of this Benefice with great honour, and when he dyed, made room for *Gardobaldi* Count of *Thurin*, who comes not behind him either in virtue or magnificence.

P. *There*

P. *There is enough ſaid of the Archbiſhopricks, let us ſee the Biſhopricks.*

G. The Catholick Biſhops that ſtill enjoy a ſeat and ſuffrage in the Aſſemblies of the Empire, are, *Bamberg*, *Wirsbourg*, *Wormes*, *Spire*, *Eichſtedt*, *Augsbourg*, *Conſtance*, *Hildeſheim*, *Paderborne*, *Munſter*, *Oſnabrug*, *Paſſau*, *Straſbourg*, *Friſinguen*, *Liege*, *Trent*, *Brix*, and *Baſle*; of which nevertheleſs *Oſnabrug* belongs to the Catholicks only by turns, and after the death of *Francis* Count of *Wirtemberg*, a moſt venerable Prelate, who was Plenipotentiary of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors at *Munſter*, and gave great proof of his prudence, dexterity, and magnificence, to the ſatisfaction and with the admiration of all the Aſſembly; I ſay, after his death, *Erneſt Auguſtus* Duke of *Lunebourg* ſhall be Biſhop of *Oſnabrug*, though he be a Lutheran. All the reſt that I mentioned, do abſolutely belong to the Catholicks, greatly fortifying the Popes authority in *Germany*, and bringing a large Revenue to *Rome* by the obligation the Prelates have to ſend thither for their Bulls.

P. *I think I have heard, that* Prague *and* Olmuts *were Suffragans to the Archbiſhoprick of* Mentz; *and yet you make no mention of them.*

G. Theſe two Biſhopricks were Suffragans to *Mentz*, but afterwards united to make up the Archbiſhoprick of *Prague*, which ſends no Deputy to the general Aſſemblies of the Empire,

pire, nor hath any place or voice there, no more than the Kingdom of *Bohemia*: And that is the reaſon why I ſpeak not of them here.

P. *Tell me ſomething in particular of every one of the Biſhopricks.*

G. That of *Bamberg*. is the firſt of the Empire; it acknowledges no Metropolitan, but depends immediately upon the Pope, and its Subjects cannot appeal from the Juſtice thereof. This Biſhoprick is of Imperial foundation, and the Biſhop hath right to receive the Oath which the Electors are to take to the Emperour for their Offices of Great Cup-bearer, Great Steward, Great Marſhal, and Great Chamberlain: And which is to be admired, theſe Electors were anciently Hereditary Great Cup-bearers, Great Stewards, Great Marſhals, and Great Chamberlains to this Biſhop, who in that had the ſame honour the Emperour hath; though every one thought it ſtrange to ſee the greateſt Princes of the Empire in the ſervice of a Gentleman. He that is Biſhop at preſent ſucceeded *Melchior Otho Voite* of *Salsbourg*, and is of the ſame Houſe that he was of. This Prelate is exceedingly well lodged at *Bamberg*, where he hath pleaſant Gardens, and excellent walks of Orange-trees: but the City is weak, which enforces the Biſhop to betake himſelf unto ſome other place in the time of Wars.

P. *If I be not miſtaken*, Francis *Count of* Hasfeld, *Brother to him that was General of the Imperial Forces, had this Biſhoprick and that*

that of Wirsbourg *both together; and after his death they were given, the one to* Melchior Otho Voite, *and the other to* John Philip Schemborne, *Gentlemen of* Franconia.

G. That is true; and *Anſelm Caſimir* Elector of *Mentz* departing this life ſoon after, *John Philip Schemborne* was put into his place with the general applauſe of all that know him. This Prince is fortifying *Wirsbourg* Caſtle, which is marvellouſly well ſituated upon a lofty riſing-ground, at the foot whereof runs the river *Meyn*. The City is large and fair, entirely Catholick, as *Bamberg* is. This Biſhop bears the title of Duke of *Franconia*, and it is denyed him by none but the Marquiſſes of *Brandenbourg*. His Countrey is pleaſant and well peopled; his Subjects are free from all other Juriſdiction, and his Fortreſs of *Konigſhoiffen* is excellent: So that this Prelate is able to aſſiſt his friends with great forces, if he will make uſe of his men and his money.

P. *He cannot be poor, being both Archbiſhop of* Mentz *and Biſhop of* Wirsbourg: *But Churchmen do oftentimes think more of enriching their kindred than ſuccouring their friends. Let us look upon the reſt, if you pleaſe.*

G. Wormes is the Head and Director of the Circle of the *Rhine*, joyntly with the Prince Palatine of *Simeren*. The City is vaſt, as well as *Spire*; and both of them being fit for nothing but to exhauſt the Treaſure, and employ the Army of him that holds them in time of War;

Wars; the Great *Guſtavus* upon that conſideration judged it neceſſary to diſmantle them. *Spire* belonged heretofore to *Philip Chriſtopher* of *Sotteren* Elector of *Tryer*, who having fortified *Udenheim*, a Village upon the *Rhine* where he had a Caſtle, called it *Philipsbourg*: At preſent the French have a Garriſon there, which coſts the Biſhop nothing, but may in time of War annoy both him and the reſt of his Neighbours.

P. *Is not this Elector he, whom* Ferdinand *II. cauſed to be ſecured; and who, after he got out of priſon, engaged himſelf to* France *in a perpetual bond of amity and intereſt?*

G. The very ſame, who to the great grief of his enemies lived till he was 80. years old, and dyed *A. D.* 1652. He was ſucceeded in his Electorſhip by *Charles Gaſpar de Legen*, and in his Biſhoprick of *Spire* by a Gentleman called *Lotharius Frederick* of *Meternick*.

P. *I think it very reaſonable, that every great Benefice ſhould have its own Prelate.*

G. And I am of the ſame opinion; but the contrary is often ſeen in *Germany*, as well as elſewhere. *Paſſau* and *Strasbourg* are in the hands of the Archduke *Leopold William*, who is no Prieſt, but Adminiſters them by Vicars General.

Eichſted is a Member of the Circle of *Franconia*; the Biſhoprick was founded by *Willibald* Son to *Richard* King of *England*, who dyed *July* 7. *A. D.* 781. This Prelate is one of the moſt

moſt conſiderable for power in the Empire, whether you look upon his Revenue, or the Lords and Gentlemen that depend on him. Neither he, nor the Biſhop of *Wirsbourg* are Directors of the ſaid Circle; but the Biſhop of *Ramberg*, when the Circle is aſſembled about Eccleſiaſtical affairs, and the Marquiſs of *Culembach*, when it is called together about matters purely Secular.

P. *You make a diſtinction here which is not uſed in other places; for the Biſhop of* Conſtance *and the Duke of* Wirtemberg *are Directors of the Circle of* Swaben, *and preſide in the Aſſemblies, whether the buſineſs under debate be Eccleſiaſtical or no.*

G. Moſt of the Circles have one Eccleſiaſtical and one Secular Director, who call Aſſemblies together, and preſide therein, without diſtinction of the matters to be treated on. In the Electoral Circle the Electors of *Mentz* and the *Palatine* have that right; in that of the *Rhine*, the Biſhop of *Wormes* and the *Palatine* of *Simeren*, in whoſe room the Landgrave of *Darmſtadt* was ſubſtituted during the laſt War. In the Circle of the Upper *Saxony* that Elector alone hath the preſidence of the Aſſembly; in that of the Lower, the Archbiſhop of *Magdebourg* and the Duke of *Brunſwick* had formerly that right; but now the King of *Sweden* as Duke of *Bremen* takes turns with that Archbiſhop, without prejudice to the Con-direction of the Duke of *Brunſwick*. In the Circle of

Weſtpha-

Weſtphalia the Biſhop of *Munſter* and the Duke of *Juliers* have that right; in that of *Swaben* the Biſhop of *Conſtance* and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*. In the Circle of *Bavaria* the Archbiſhop of *Saltzbourg* and that Duke are Preſidents; in that of *Franconia*, there having been a great difference between the Biſhop of *Bamberg* and the Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg* reſiding at *Culembach*, it was reſolved, that if matters purely Eccleſiaſtical be the occaſion of aſſembling the Circle, the Biſhop of *Bamberg* alone ſhould have power to convoke it, and then he preſides there without controul; but when the Province is to be called together upon buſineſs purely Political; the Marquiſs of *Culembach* hath the ſole right to do it, and to preſide in the Aſſembly: And this agreement is punctually obſerved.

P. *Though we be run into another Theam, I am glad I have learnt who are the Heads and Directors of the Circles of the Empire: And if it be not troubleſom to you, do me the favour to tell me who preſides in the Circles of* Auſtria *and* Burgundy; *and then continue your diſcourſe of the Biſhopricks.*

G. The Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria* having exalted themſelves to a degree above admitting any Peer, will have no Companion in the Direction of their Circles; and ſo the Archdukes alone are Directors of the Circle of *Auſtria*, and the King of *Spain* of that of *Burgundy*. This Prince ſince the war he had with the

the *Hollanders*, hath ſent no more Deputies, as *Charles* V. promiſed to do when the Low Countreys were put under the protection of the Empire.

Now to purſue our diſcourſe concerning the Biſhopricks, you ſhall take notice before we go forward, that four Proteſtant Princes have Canonryes at *Strasbourg*, to wit, the Dukes of *Brunſwick*, *Meklebourg*, and *Wirtemberg*, and the Marquiſs of *Dourlach*.

P. *I am informed that thoſe Benefices are but little worth.*

G. Thoſe Princes value the Canonryes more, becauſe upon that account they are Members of the Chapter of *Strasbourg*, than for the Revenue they yield, which in truth is hardly ſufficient to maintain a ſervant.

Augsbourg is famous throughout the World, for the beauty of the City, for the great number of Goldſmiths and other Artiſans that make a thouſand curioſities, and becauſe in the year 1530. the Proteſtant Princes did there preſent their Confeſſion of Faith to the Emperour *Charles* V.

Conſtance is known throughout all Chriſtendom by reaſon of the Council held there, by order whereof *John Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prague* were burnt without any reſpect had to the Safe-Conduct of the Emperour *Sigiſmond*.

P. *They ſay Catholicks believe, that faith ought not to be kept with Hereticks.*

G. The moſt rational Catholicks abhor that

maxime; which if allowed, deſtroyes Commerce, ruines Treaties, foments Wars, ſowes Diſcord, quenches Charity, and diſannuls Religion. A Prince ſhould eſteem nothing more precious than his word, nothing more venerable than his faith, nor more ſacred than his promiſe. King *Francis* I. ſaid, that if Faith were utterly vaniſht out of the World, it ſhould be found in his word: And *Charles* V. having given his to Doctor *Luther*, obſerved it religiouſly. It is true indeed, that the *Spaniards*, not willing that *Luthers* Reformation ſhould be charged upon that incomparable Emperour, ſay that he kept his faith, becauſe Doctor *Luther* had already written much, and that it would have been more prejudicial to the Church to put him to death, than to let him live. But that cannot be affirmed without too much diminution to the Glory of that great Prince. Be careful then of promiſing a thing, the obſerving whereof may be of damage to you; but make good your promiſe what ever it coſt you; and though you ſhould have paſt your word to a *Turk*, do what you have undertaken.

P. *It is generally ſaid, that a man ſhould keep his promiſe, but doth that rule admit of no exception?*

G. Thoſe things that cannot be promiſed with good reaſon, do with as little reaſon bind to their obſervation. For example, if any one had promiſed to kill, to betray, to ſell his Maſter,

ſter, or any other ſuch like thing, he would not be obliged to make good his promiſe; for as much as he that promiſeth thoſe unlawful things, promiſeth that whereunto he neither hath nor can have any right: And a promiſe takes its ſtrength from the right which the promiſer hath over the thing promiſed.

P. *Is it not as unlawful to give an Heretick his life (which he employes in ſeducing the People) as to kill or beat another man?*

G. Thoſe things are not of the ſame nature: A man cannot be beaten or killed without a violation of all Laws; but by keeping Faith with Hereticks none at all are infringed. All well-governed Nations have thought it juſt and neceſſary to keep their word where it was engaged. When *Croton* a notorious robber preſented himſelf, *Auguſtus* commanded that ſum to be delivered to him, which he had promiſed to the perſon that ſhould bring in the Bandites head: And *Pompey* gave Pirates both their lives and means to live quietly, only becauſe he would not falſifie his promiſe. But certainly there is no leſs obligation to keep Faith with an Heretick, than with a High-way-man, and a Free-booter; unleſs one believe that a Chriſtian is leſs bound to make good his word than a Heathen; or that keeping Faith ſhould be thought convenient among all other Nations, and inconvenient to thoſe that profeſs the Faith: as if the People that are enlightned by the brightneſs of the Goſpel,

ought to be leſs juſt than thoſe that are immerſt and mudded in the darkneſs of error and idolatry.

P. *You conclude then, that it is requiſite to keep Faith even with Infidels and Hereticks; and I am of the ſame opinion. And in very truth, a Prince that ſhould have Subjects of a Religion which would teach the contrary, could have no confidence in them, no more than they in him, if he had no regard to keep his word with them, upon pretence that he believed them Hereticks. But let us turn into our Road again.*

G. *Conſtance* having ſhewn us the inconſtancy of humane promiſes, hath drawn us a little out of our way; yet it is no hard matter to ſtrike into it again. *Ferdinand* Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and Elector of *Collen*, held the Biſhopricks of *Hildeſheim*, *Paderborne*, *Verden*, *Munſter*, and *Liege*, all together; by means whereof he might have given himſelf much eaſe, and enjoyed his pleaſure, if the War had not engaged him in great diſquiet and exceſſive expenſes. The Jeſuits have heretofore told me, that the two firſt of theſe Biſhopricks had a miraculous foundation, after this manner; while *Lewis* the *Debonair* was at *Hildeſheim*, it ſnowed ſo much all night, that on the morrow the ſnow was a foot deep every where, except in the place where the Cathedral Church was afterwards built: And *Charlemagne* deſiring to encamp on that ground where *Paderborne* ſtands, wherein there was want

want of water, the first pin that was struck into the earth to fasten his Pavillion, gave issue to a plentiful spring that drives some water-mills. Upon which source the Emperour caused the Church to be built, and endowed it with a Revenue necessary for the maintenance of a Bishop. *Liege* is known to all those that have read the History of *Charles* the Brave Duke of *Burgundy*, who lay very heavy upon it at divers times, and upon sundry occasions. This Bishoprick and that of *Hildesheim* are still in the possession of the Elector of *Collen*; but *Verden* and *Minden* were Secularized.

P. *I knew before that those two Bishopricks were given to the King of* Sweden *and the Elector of* Brandenbourg. *Tell me something of* Munster.

G. That City is of special note, because its Bishop is the Head of the Circle of *Westphalia*, and because it was the place of the Assembly wherein many Bishopricks altered their property; but much more, for having been the seat of *John* of *Leyden*, that petty King, and seditious Anabaptist, who for some years carried the Scepter and Ball for marks of his Royalty: At last he was besieged, taken, and put on the top of a Steeple in an iron Cage, where he was eaten up by flyes and wasps, together with two of his companions who were placed a little lower, after they had been carried in triumph and mockery unto several Princes. That punishment, fit for their Rebellion, and other crimes

of theirs, was inflicted upon them. *A. D.* 1536.

P. *You ſaid ere whiles, that* Ferdinand *Archbiſhop of* Collen *held many Biſhopricks together; and I would willingly know whether the Church of* Rome *permit one ſingle perſon to have ſo many Benefices, every one requiring reſidence.*

G. The Canon Law is directly againſt plurality of Benefices; and according to the doctrine of the Caſuiſts, juſt as Chriſtians are forbidden to have many Wives at one time, ſo are Prieſts to have many ſuch Benefices together: For where the Scripture ordains, that a Biſhop ſhould be the Husband of one Wife, they ſay it is meant of one Biſhoprick. But the Pope doth eaſily diſpenſe, when the Biſhop is of high extraction; and at this time there are ſome great Lords that hold more than two of the beſt Biſhopricks in *Germany*.

P. *I wonder Diſpenſations are granted in that caſe, ſeeing by how much the Prelate is of greater condition, by ſo much is he the better enabled to ſupport his Dignity with the eſtate of his Houſe. But the Pope is to anſwer for thoſe Diſpenſations; and it may be, he that is ſubject to no Law here, will find himſelf much to ſeek when he is to give an account of his actions before the Tribunal of a Judge that hath no reſpect to Miters, and ſhows no more favour to the great than to the little, to the rich than to the poor. Let us go on to the Biſhopricks that remain.*

G. Being

G. Being I have no intention to ſpeak of thoſe that lye within the Hereditary Countreys of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, becauſe they ſit not in the Diets of the Empire; it remains only that we ſay ſomething concerning thoſe of *Friſinguen*, *Brix*, *Baſile*, and *Trent*. The firſt is poſſeſſed by *Albert Sigiſmond*, Son to *Albert* Brother to the late *Maximilian* Elector of *Bavaria*. The ſecond is ſo ancient, that they ſay it hath had Biſhops ever ſince the year of Our Lord 360. The third hath no power over the City, and the Biſhop hath his ſeat and reſidence at *Poirentrus*. The laſt is known throughout all Chriſtendom, by reaſon of the Council which was held there under five Popes, and brought to an end under *Pius* IV. *A. D.* 1563. In that Council ſome concluſions paſſed which ſtrike at the Liberties and Priviledges of the moſt Chriſtian King; the Spaniards alſo diſputed the precedence with him, which the Kings of *France* had enjoyed till that time without conteſt, and enjoy it ſtill in deſpite of their adverſary. You may here remark, that *Gabriel Bucelin* a Monk of *Weingart* having ſaid that *Henry* of *Bourbon* is Biſhop of *Metz*, makes a great exclamation thereupon, that *France* hath beſtowed a Biſhoprick upon a Natural Son of King *Henry* IV. yet ſpeaks not a word of the abuſes committed in other places, only (as I think) becauſe the French King hath the nomination of the great Benefices of his Kingdom; but that Monk doth not take notice, that there be more learned and pious Prelates in

France, than in all Chriſtendom beſides.

P. *Is there never an Eccleſiaſtical Prince in* Germany, *that is not a Biſhop?*

G. The Great Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order; the Abbots of *Fulda*, *Hirſefield*, *Murbach*, *Kempten*, *Corbay*, *Prum*, *Stabel*, and *Luders*; the Grand Prior of *Malta*; the Provoſts of *Ilvang* and *Bereſſolagaden*, are Princes, and have place in the Diets of the Empire; the firſt immediately after the Archbiſhop of *Saltzbourg*, and the reſt after the Biſhops.

P. *Tell me what you know of theſe Princes.*

G. The Knights Templers and of St. *John* having fought proſperouſly againſt the Infidels, raiſed an emulation in ſome *German* Gentlemen, who waited upon the Emperour *Frederick* I. in his expedition to the Holy Land, to take the *Croiſado*; and becauſe they were inſtalled in the Church and Hoſpital of St. *Mary* at *Jeruſalem*, they were called *Marianites*. Their Order differed nothing from thoſe above mentioned, but in the form and colour of their Croſs, and was approved by Pope *Celeſtin* III. Afterwards when *Jeruſalem* was taken by *Saladin*, thoſe Knights betook themſelves to *Ptolemais*; from whence the Emperour *Frederick* II. ſent them back into *Germany*, and employed them againſt the *Pruſſians* and *Livonians*, who at that time were ſtill Pagans; but by the valour and piety of thoſe Knights, their Souls were brought into ſubjection to Chriſt, and their bodies to the Order, which began that War

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in the year 1220. A little while after, thoſe Knights found themſelves Maſters of a Countrey of very large extent, which obeyed the Order till the year 1525. at which time *Sigiſmond* King of *Poland* gave the Inveſtiture of *Pruſſia* unto *Albert* Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg*. In the year 1563. the Great Maſter became Secular again, and took a part of the lands ſubject to the Order, with the name of Duke of *Curland*: And *Livonia* having been the ſubject and Theatre of many Wars between the *Polanders*, *Muſcovites*, and *Swedes*, theſe laſt did at length become Maſters of it, and have it in poſſeſſion ſtill. So there is no more remaining of the *Teutonick* Order, but ſome Commanderies ſcattered here and there in *Germany*; and the Great Maſter hath the ſeat of his reſidence at *Manenchal* or *Morkenthal*. He is at preſent the Archduke *Leopold William*, only Brother to the Emperour *Ferdinand* III.

P. *All things here below being ſubject to change, I do not wonder that the zeal of thoſe firſt Knights ſhould grow cold, and that they (like the Templers) abuſe their riches. Tell me ſomething of the Abbot of* Fulda, *and the Grand Prior of* Germany.

G. This Abbey is one of the richeſt and moſt celebrious in *Europe*. It was founded upon the river of *Fulda* (between the Countreys of *Heſſe*, *Franconia*, and *Wetteravia*) by *Charlemagne* and *Pepin* Kings of *France*, in the year 744. This Abbot is firſt of the Empire; he is

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Arch-Chancellor to the Empreſs, calls himſelf Primate of *Gallia*, and diſputes precedence with the greateſt Lords. They ſay that heretofore he could raiſe 60000. men; and though there were a Cypher too much in the account, he would be yet too potent for an Abbot, who ſhould have no other care but to direct the Monks in the path of virtue by his doctrine and example. The Grand Prior of the Order of *Malta* in *Germany*, is at this time *Frederick* Landgrave of *Heſſe* Brother to him of *Darmſtadt*, who was created Cardinal within theſe few years; and when from being a Lutheran he turned Catholick in the year 1636. he was made one of the Great Croſſes of *Malta* by *Urban* VIII. and a little after, being General of the Galleys of that Order, for an Eſſay of his proweſs he entred with five Galleys into the Port of *Carthage* at *Goletta*, and came out again in ſpite of the Turkiſh Canon, which continued playing upon him as thick as hail, each of his Galleys towing one of *Caragoges* the great Pirates Ships at her Stern, the biggeſt whereof carried forty pieces of Ordnance, and as many Murderers. That action got this young Prince a great deal of honour amongſt the Knights of his Order, two hundred whereof were partners in his fortune, and admirers of his reſolution.

P. *The Landgraves never do any diſhonourable thing; and if this Prince had purſued his point, and continued in the warlike profeſſion, he had*

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cut out work for the common Enemy of Christians. Let us see the rest, if you please.

G. The Abbey of *Murbach* (whereunto that of *Luders* is united, because they have both suffered the injury of the times) was once so potent that it could maintain 1260. Horse. It was founded in the mountains of *Alsatia* by *Eberhard* Duke of *Almaine* (now called *Swaben*) to the honour of St. *Landegat* one of his Ancestors. These two Abbeys are at this time in the possession of the Archduke *Leopold William*. The Provost of *Elvang* is usually chosen out of the body of the Chapter of the Provostship, the Canons whereof are Gentlemen. He is rich, and well lodged in a Castle situate upon a high ground near the City of *Elvang*. *Corbay* is an Abbey in *Saxony*, so called, because St. *Adelar* Cousin to *Charlemagne*, Abbot of *Corbie* in *Picardy*, was the Founder thereof in the year 822. and since that time it hath produced great personages. *Prum* had the honour within its own walls to see *Lotharius* Son to the Emperour *Lewis* the *Debonaire* change a Crown for a Monks Cowl: And *Stabel* is an Abbey in the Bishoprick of *Liege*. All these Prelates go before the Secular Princes.

P. *I think there are some Prelates that come behind the Secular Princes; and though they sit in the Assemblies, have no voice there but in Body, as the Counts have.*

G. Those Prelates are three and twenty in number;

number; and fourteen Abbeſſes, to wit, of *Quedlimbourg*, *Eſſen*, *Hermord*, *Nidez*, and *Obermunſter* at *Ratisbon*, of *Lindau*, *Herrenoda*, *Buchau* upon the Lake, *Federſie*, *Rotenmunſter* near *Rottevil*, *Hagbaen*, *Guttenzel*, *Beind*, *Dandelau*, and *Gunderthem*. Theſe Ladies have right to ſit in the Aſſemblies, but for the decorum of their Sex they are excuſed from coming thither in perſon, and yet are obliged to ſend their Deputies. The Prelates do all bear the quality of Abbot, Provoſt, or Baliff, and are ſo rich and powerful, that if their Revenue were well employed, they might juſtly ſtrike a terror into all thoſe that would meddle with them.

P. *I know the power of the Churchmen in* Germany *is too too boundleſs; and it may be their riches gave occaſion to the Princes to make themſelves Maſters of a part of the good things which they abuſed.*

G. Although the errors which were crept into the Church, and the depraved converſations of Churchmen, were the firſt motive of thoſe changes that hapned in the laſt age; nevertheleſs it is certain, that if that had not been, ſome other cauſe would have been found out to abate the Revenues of Prieſts, which were every day encreaſed by ways unjuſt and violent.

P. *How did the Churchmen come to be ſo prodigiouſly wealthy?*

G. The piety of the ancient Chriſtians began

gan that which, the avarice of the Prieſts hath accompliſhed; and to ſpeak more clearly, Chriſtians of every condition ſeeing men of the Church afflicted, beaten, and martyred for the Goſpels ſake, gave them both in their lifetime, and left them after their deaths a part of their Eſtates, either upon money lent out for their uſe, or upon lands ſet at a perpetual rent, or upon other goods. After which, Prieſts went on even to exceſs, and by Legacies in Wills and Teſtaments got Dutchies, Counties, Baronies, Fiefs, Caſtles, Rent-charges as well as Services and Fee-farm-rents, and Houſes both in City and Countrey: by which means Succeſſions fell to them on every ſide; and ſo they purchaſed, exchanged, and negotiated with the Revenue of their Benefices, employing the profits thereof to compaſs other eſtates, which being in their hands became exempt and free of all charge. It was that vaſt enriching of Churchmen which made the People ſo bare and miſerable, being forced to contribute towards defraying the expenſes of War, and the maintenance of Princes, although the poor contributors enjoyed but the leaſt part of the land; which obliged Kings at laſt to forbid Prieſts all kinds of further acquiſitions. If that had not been done, they had ſwallowed all long ſince; for heretofore there was an order, that no Will ſhould be made without bequeathing ſomething to the Church: And if any one dyed inteſtate, an eſtimate was made of his inheritance,

ritance, and according to the value thereof a portion was allotted and given to the Prieſts. For the remedying of that exceſs very excellent Laws have been made in *England*, the Low Countreys, and at *Venice*; and the Parliament of *Paris* it ſelf, ſeeing the immenſe riches of the *Carthuſians* and *Celeſtins*, made orders expreſly prohibiting them the acquiring of any more immovables.

P. *Thoſe regulations are juſt, where Churchmen live in plenty; but they ſhould not be hindred from making moderate acquiſitions, it being reaſonable that they who feed us ſpiritually, ſhould be maintained corporally.*

G. Your argument is very good: Poverty ſhould not be permitted in the Church; for it is impoſſible the Prieſt ſhould carefully attend upon preaching the Goſpel, viſiting the ſick, comforting the afflicted, and adminiſtring the Sacraments, and at the ſame time labour to get bread. While Clergy-men were under continual ſuffering, they ſtood in need of extraordinary aſſiſtance, to keep them from falling into deſpair; but growing too rich, they were ſwallowed up in lazyneſs, from whence there flowed ſtreams of ignorance, wantonneſs, impiety, luxury, ſuperſtition, idolatry, and other vices, which brought Chriſtendom almoſt to utter ruine.

P. *Let us not enter into the conſideration of the lives, manners, and humours of Prieſts, who have conſtrained good men to procure their reformation,*

formation, and that reformation cauſed rivers of blood, which have very near drowned Chriſtendom. Tell me rather how the Eccleſiaſtical Princes come by their Dignity.

G. The Prelates of *Germany* are not all raiſed to their Dignity after one and the ſame manner; and the order obſerved now differs from that which was obſerved when *Germany* received the Faith. In the beginning of Chriſtianity Biſhops were every where choſen by the Clergy and the People joyntly. After which, when the Roman Emperours were become Chriſtians, they ſometimes gave Biſhops to the principal Churches by their own authority, or of ſeveral that were propoſed to them, they made choice of him that pleaſed them beſt: So *Conſtans* made *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Theodoſius* the younger choſe *Nectarius* to be Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, from amongſt many that were named to him. Since the fourth age (before which there were few or no Biſhops in *Germany*) the Kings made a Decree, that no man ſhould be promoted to the Epiſcopal Dignity without their conſent; and when *Germany* was united to *France*, the French Kings made ſuch uſe of that right, that no man was made Biſhop but by their nomination, or at leaſt their approbation: for if the Clergy and the People choſe a Biſhop, he was to be confirmed by the King. In *Bavaria* (which at that time had its own Kings) ſometimes the People, and ſometimes the King choſe the

the Biſhops, but ſo as there was no need to have Bulls from *Rome*. *Pepin* gave the Archbiſhoprick of *Mentz* to *Boniface*; and that Prelate being grown old, he obtained a Coadjutor from the ſame King, without having recourſe to the Pope.

P. *I believe indeed that* Pepin *raiſed that Prelate to the Epiſcopal Dignity, but ſome think he had obtained permiſſion to do ſo from Pope* Zachary.

G. The creatures of *Rome* would make us believe ſo; but that is not probable, ſince *Pepins* Predeceſſors had the ſame power, and his Succeſſors maintained it: inſomuch that *Leo*, or rather *Gregory* IV. durſt not make *Colonus* the Deacon Biſhop of *Reale* without the permiſſion of *Lewis* the *Debonaire*; and the Fathers of the Synod held at *Aix-la-Chapelle* entreated the ſame Emperour to have a great care of giving good Paſtors to the Churches. Nay, all the Popes from *Leo* VIII. to *Gregory* VII. were created or confirmed by the Emperours.

P. *But have not the Emperours made, nor confirmed any Popes ſince that time?*

G. Gregory VII. took away from Kings and Emperours the power not only of creating and confirming the Popes, but the Biſhops alſo in the Countreys under their obedience; and having excommunicated the Emperour *Henry* IV. he commanded *Hugh* Biſhop of *Die* his Legate in *France* to procure a Decree to be made againſt Lay-men that would name perſons unto Biſhopricks.

Biſhopricks. The year after, he forbad Churchmen the receiving of any Biſhoprick, Abbey, or other Benefice from the hand of a Lay-man, though he were King or Emperour; and within two years more he pronounced, that the power of chuſing Biſhops and Paſtors belonged to the Apoſtolick See. *Victor* III. confirmed the Decrees of *Gregory* VII. *Urban* II. went further, and at the Synod of *Melfi Can.* 8. and at that of *Clermont Can.* 15. and 16. forbad Clergy-men to take the Oath of Allegiance unto their Princes. Thoſe Decrees drew the Emperour *Henry* V. into the field, who took *Paſchal* II. priſoner, and made him reſtore the Empire unto its firſt condition. But when Popes had once taſted what a pleaſure it was to be independent, and to keep the Emperours under their authority, they forced the Councils of *Lateran* and *Vienna*, held in the year 1112. to declare Heretical the Collations of Benefices made by Lay-men. The Emperours on the other ſide deſiring to keep up their power, named one Biſhop, and the Pope or the People, another; and the ſtronger party held the Biſhoprick, to the great ſcandal and prejudice of Chriſtendom. At length *Paſchal* II. excommunicated *Henry* V. *Calixtus* II. confirmed the proceedings of his predeceſſors at the Council of *Reims*, *A. D.* 1120. and *Henry* being both ſtrucken by the Popes thunderbolts, and wearied by the obſtinacy of the Princes, renounced his own right in the Diet held at

Wormes A. D. 1122. In this manner the right which the Emperours had to chuſe Biſhops paſſed from them to the Clergy and the People; but a little after, the Canons of Cathedral Churches aſſumed that right to themſelves, and keep it ſtill.

P. *I obſerve that many of the Councils wherein the Empire loſt ſo much of its power and dignity, were held in* France.

G. Thoſe Kings ſeeing that *Germany* had ſeparated it ſelf from *France*, and kept the Imperial Majeſty which their firſt Predeceſſors of the ſecond Race had gotten, were glad to ſee it humbled; and for that cauſe they ſided with the Popes, when they would vex the Empire; helping by that means to forge and hammer thoſe chains of ſervitude, which would have oppreſſed them and their Succeſſors, if the Popes had not met with Parliaments and a French people more inclined to obey their own Kings, than to follow the orders of *Rome*.

P. *Thoſe Subjects who prefer the obedience they owe to their Soveraigns before any other conſideration, are highly to be commended. Tell me how the Prelates in theſe times obtain their Benefices.*

G. There are two ways of creating Prelates in *Germany*; the one is called *Election*, and the other *Poſtulation*. When the Chapter being Canonically aſſembled chuſes one of the members of their Body to be the Head thereof, or at leaſt two thirds of the Canons give him their voices,

voices, he is made Archbishop or Bishop by Election: And if the same Canons think it fit to raise unto that Dignity some Prince or Prelate that is not of their Body, they call that kind of proceeding Postulation. Both these are lawful, and the only practised ways in the Empire: And it is all I had to tell you concerning the Ecclesiastical persons of *Germany*; which may suffice you, unless you desire to know whether they do homage to the Emperour.

P. *I question not but Church-men receive their Fiefs from the Emperour, and pay him homage for their Principalities; but I would gladly know whether they be more strictly tyed to the Emperour or to the Pope, and which side they would take, in case his Holiness should make War upon the Empire.*

G. The Holy Scripture teaches us, that no man can serve two Masters; and I believe the Churchmen of *Germany* would find the experience of it, if the Emperour and the Pope should have any quarrel or controversie: For they are obliged to the Pope as Priests and Prelates, and to the Emperour as Feudataries of the Empire. They that prefer the Grandeur of *Rome* before that of *Germany*, would forsake the Emperour; and they that undervalue the fulminations of the Vatican, would bear up the interest of the Empire against the Pope. Now if I durst tell you my thoughts, I do verily believe that of ten there would hardly be found one that would depart from the Popes interest.

P. *I think ſo too, and hold it for certain that Popes have brought down the authority of Soveraigns by the help of Churchmen.*

G. That may well be; for the bond of Religion holds men more ſtrongly than any other duty. And though wiſe men diſtinguiſh between the true zeal and the capricious humour of Popes, yet the greateſt part of Chriſtians being perſwaded that S. *Peter* cannot have any unjuſt pretenſion, doth turn to his ſide without knowing at what he aims; and whether it be by ſimplicity or malice, the Prieſts have often brought miſery upon their Countrey to bring their Princes under the Pope, not conſidering that Soveraign eſtates depend of none but God, and that all Churchmen (not excepting the Pope himſelf) owe obedience unto their Princes.

P. *The Doctrine of the Popes is abſolutely contrary to yours: The Holy Father may judge of all, without being ſubject to the judgment of any body, being the Sun of the earth, and the Emperour but the Moon, and therefore 6645 times bigger than he; and having power to free the Subjects of another from the Oath they have taken to obey him, with how much more reaſon may he exempt and withdraw himſelf from the obedience of every other Prince?*

G. Flatterers give that power to Popes, who abuſing the ſame, have oftentimes been the cauſe of great Rebellions. But the people of this age are not ſo ſimple as thoſe of former times,

times, who believing theſe fables, forſook their Kings, and brutiſhly ſpilt the blood of their Countreymen. Chriſtians now a dayes turn the eyes of their underſtanding upon the Primitive Church, and ſee it evidently there, that Popes were not alwayes ſo potent as they are now, and indeed that they ought not to be ſo, ſeeing they ſtyle themſelves Lieutenants to Chriſt, and Succeſſors to S. *Peter*; the firſt of whom did alwayes proteſt, that *his Kingdom was not of this World*; and the other teacheth us as well as S. *Paul*, that *every ſoul ſhould be ſubject to the Higher Powers*: From which words S. *Bernard* concludes, that Popes ought to be ſubject to Princes.

P. *Many things ſhould be that are not*; *But let us ſpeak no more of the Pope or of his power: Let us (if you pleaſe) ſee how thoſe that preach againſt him, obey their Princes*; *and how Church-matters are adminiſtred amongſt the* Lutherans *and the* Calviniſts *in* Germany.

G. It is moſt certain that the Reformation of *Luther* and *Calvin* makes Church-men ſubject to the Prince under whom they live. It is nevertheleſs to be obſerved, that Proteſtant Princes do not ſubmit Eccleſiaſtical affairs to every Tribunal, but they have each of them a Conſiſtory where thoſe matters are decided, when they are of importance.

P. *Have the* Lutherans *any Biſhops, to whom Prieſts are ſubject?*

G. In *Sweden* and *Denmark* where both Kings and People received the Reformation of *Luther*, they obſerve almoſt the ſame order as in the Church of *Rome*, and perſons conſtituted in Eccleſiaſtical Dignities have power to preſcribe rules to others. In *Germany* where the *Lutheran* Biſhops are as obſolute as the Secular Princes, they have the right of commanding the Prieſts of their Dioceſe to do their duty. The other Princes having in their Dominions Deacons, Prieſts, particular and general Superintendents, do alſo oblige the inferior Clergy to give an account of their doctrine and lives to their Superiors, and to receive their correction. Theſe Superintendents viſit their Dioceſe once a year, and make an exact enquiry into the Doctrine and manners of all the Paſtors under their inſpection.

P. *And have theſe Superintendents alſo any Superior?*

G. No man is exempted from an obligation to obey the Laws; and the greateſt of the Clergy have a Superior, who can and ought to chaſtiſe them when they commit any ſcandalous offence. The complaints that are made againſt the loweſt Prieſts being come to the Superintendents ear, he makes inquiſition thereinto, and reports it to the Conſiſtory, where the ancienteſt or the moſt worthy Prelate of the Principality doth uſually preſide; and that Conſiſtory fortified by the power and authority of the Prince, ordains what is juſt and

and reaſonable, impriſoning or degrading the offender when they think it neceſſary. Briefly, thoſe Conſiſtories are alwayes vigilant for the maintenance of Religion, the enlargement of the Kingdom of Chriſt, the peace of Conſciences, the good of the People, and the upholding of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline.

P. *Do all the Evangelick Lords (ſo they term* Lutherans*) obſerve the ſame order in their Territories?*

G. When the errors that had ſlipt into the Church, obliged Princes to reform within their own Dominions, every one made choice of one or more perſonages of great piety and eminent learning, by whoſe advice he framed and ſet up that order which he would have to take place in the Churches of his Countrey. In the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, where the Reformation was introduced by Duke *Chriſtopher*, a Prince of incomparable wiſdom, the Principality is divided into ſix Dioceſes, and for every one of them there is a Prelate called Superintendent General, who is inſpector thereof. Thoſe ſix Prelates have many ſpecial and particular ones under them, and over them the Provoſt of *Stutgardt*, who preſides in the Conſiſtory, where all the Eccleſiaſtical controverſies of that Dutchy are decided. The Preſident at this time is *Melchior Nicolai* Doctor in Divinity, very famous for his writings, and no leſs worthy of that eminent rank for his piety.

P. *Do the reformed Proteſtants called* Calviniſts

viniſts *obſerve the ſame order?*

G. There is no mention of Archbiſhop or Biſhop in the places where the *Calviniſts* prevail: Yet in *Germany* they obſerve ſome order, and they that are but Paſtors, yield obedience to the Superintendents.

P. *I do not think there be many of that way in* Germany.

G. The Laws of the Empire permit three Religions, whereof the Reformed is the leaſt numerous and powerful, yet conſiderable in regard of the Neighbourhood of the *Swiſſers* and *Hollanders*: The Electors of *Brandenbourg* and the Palatine, Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, the Princes of *Anhalt*, the Palatines of *Simeren* and *Deux-ponts*, and the Counts of *Lippe*, make publick profeſſion of that Religion; but the firſt hath almoſt none of his Subjects of the ſame Comfeſſion; the ſecond hath loſt the greateſt part of his eſtates by the laſt Treaty of Peace, and his Subjects are of a different Religion; the Princes of *Anhalt* and the two Palatines are but weak, and the Counts of *Lippe* of ſmall conſideration. The Catholicks have for them the Imperial Majeſty, the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bavaria*, part of the Palatine and of *Baden*, that of *Zolleren*, all the Eccleſiaſtical Princes, and the Prelates whoſe power is extraordinary, and ſome Imperial Cities. The *Lutherans* have all the reſt of *Germany*, to wit, all that the Crown of *Sweden* poſſeſſes there, all the Principalities of the Houſes of *Saxony*, *Brandenbourg*,

denbourg, *Brunſwick*, *Lunebourg*, *Holſtein*, *Mekkebourg*, *Wirtemberg*, *Darmſtadt*, *Dourlach*, *Lawembourg*, and *Eaſt-Friſeland*, a great number of Counts, and the moſt able Imperial Cities, as *Hambourg*, *Lubeck*, *Strasbourg*, *Brunswick*, *Ulme*, *Nuremberg*, and many others, which being backed with the Neighbourhood of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, are able to ſtrike an awe into all thoſe that would diſturb their peace; and if they hold together, they will eaſily diſappoint all the evil deſigns of their Enemies, becauſe the Reformed *Calviniſts* will alwayes joyn with them, when hoſtility is uſed againſt them for Religion, being well aſſured that their preſervation is linked in one common concern with that of the *Lutherans*.

The end of the Sixth Dialogue.

DIALOGUE VII.

Of the Counts and Barons of the Empire.

P. *BEing we are now to ſpeak of the Counts, it comes into my mind that we have already diſcourſed of the Princes without any light gi-*

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ven me by you why they are called Archdukes, Dukes, Marquiſſes, Landgraves, Palſgraves, and Burgraves: And therefore before we proceed any further, I would gladly learn the Etymology of the names whereby thoſe Dignities are expreſt.

G. They were purpoſely deferred till we came to this place, that you might have them all together, or to avoid repetitions which are uſually very irkſom. And becauſe moſt of theſe names are compounded of the word *Grave*, I will begin with that. Touching which you are to obſerve, that the *Germans* call Counts *Graven*, which in old language ſignifies Judge; and the Latins call them *Comites*, becauſe anciently Juſtice was adminiſtred at the Court, and thoſe Judges did alwayes accompany the Emperour. Afterwards that name was given to thoſe who adminiſtred Juſtice in Cities and Provinces, becauſe the chiefeſt of the Judges were ſent thither from the Court out of the Emperours followers.

P. *The derivation which you make of that word, as well* Latin *as* Dutch, *pleaſes me well; but from whence do you fetch the words* Palſgrave, Markgrave, Landgrave, *and* Burgrave?

G. All theſe names are compounded of *Grave*, which ſignifies Judge, Bailiff, or Governour in general, and being reſtrained by the words *Phaltz*, *Mark*, *Land*, and *Burg*, ſignify the Judges or chief Bailiffs of the Palace, the Borders, the Countrey, and the Fortreſſes: So that *Palſgrave* ſignifies the Lord Chief Juſtice of the

the Imperial Palace; *Margrave*, the Judge of a Frontier Province; *Landgrave*, of a Midland Province; and *Burgrave*, the Governour of a conſiderable Fortreſs, to the command whereof was annext the duty of adminiſtring Juſtice in the whole extent of the juriſdiction of his Government.

P. *I pray enlarge your diſcourſe a little more concerning theſe Offices.*

G. The Palſgrave being the head of Juſtice in the Empire, all appeals were brought to him, and he joyntly with the Emperour decided all matters of importance. Now as every thing here below is ſubject to alteration; the abuſes committed by the Landgraves, the Marquiſſes, and even by the Counts, obliged the Emperours to ſend Palſgraves into ſeveral places of the Empire: and at laſt thoſe Counts Palatine craftily making uſe of the Emperours negligence, appropriated unto themſelves the Provinces of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, *Franconia*, and the *Palatinate*. Neither did the Margraves and Landgraves continue in the ſame ſtate: For in the beginning their principal aim was the preſervation of equity between the Subjects of the Empire; and a little after, they took upon them the care to hinder the Foraign Enemy and the ſeditious inhabitant from doing wrong to thoſe that were under their juriſdiction. There are others that draw the word *Margrave* from *Marka*, which in old Dutch ſignifies a horſe; and if that Etymology be allowed for true, I think the

the Marquiſſes were Generals of Horſe, and the Landgraves of Foot. Thoſe Lords having raiſed their Commands to ſo high a point, and the Emperour loſing his authority by little and little, from Officers they became Proprietors of the Provinces they had in charge. The reaſon why I think that Marquiſſes were firſt Judges, then Governours, and at laſt Princes of ſome Frontier Provinces, is becauſe the ancient Marquiſates are all upon the Borders of the Empire, where the Emperours in former times maintained ſome Troops of Horſe to hinder the inroads of diſaffected Neighbours.

P. *I believe the Marquiſates of* Germany *are all ancient.*

G. There is no doubt but they are ſo, much more than thoſe of *France* and *Spain*: For beſides what you may have obſerved before, when we ſpoke of the Houſes of *Brandenbourg* and *Baden*, *Albinus* writes that *Henry* I. appointed the Marquiſs of *Miſnia* in the year 931. to withſtand the incurſions of the *Bohemians*; thoſe of *Luſatia* and *Moravia*, to keep out the *Sileſians*, who were then under the obedience of the *Polanders*; and that of *Schleſwick*, to oppoſe the attempts of the *Danes*. Thoſe of *Auſtria* and *Stiria* had been eſtabliſhed before by *Charlemagne*, to bridle the *Hungarians*, and keep them within their duty.

P. *Methinks there are not ſo many Marquiſates in* Germany *as you mention.*

G. *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, and *Schleſwick*, have been

been erected into Dukedoms; and the *Saxons* who poſſeſs the Marquiſates of *Miſnia* and *Luſatia*, prefer the title of Duke before that of Marquiſs, becauſe the Electoral Dignity is annext to the Dutchy of *Saxony*; and *Moravia* is in the poſſeſſion of the Emperour. By which means there is never a Houſe left in *Germany* that is honoured with the quality of Marquiſs, but that of *Brandenbourg* and of *Baden*, and thoſe Lords prefer it before all other titles.

P. *I do not think there be many Landgraves.*

G. There is none but the Houſe of *Heſſe* that takes its chief title from thence. The Landgraveſhip of *Alſatia* was transferred to the King of *France* by the Treaty of *Munſter*; that of *Leuchtemberg*, to the Houſe of *Bavaria* by the Marriage of Duke *Albert* with *Matildis* Heireſs of that Principality; that of *Thuringia* belongs to the Duke of *Saxony*, that of *Leuſemberg* to the Marquiſs of *Baden*, and that of *Nollembourg* to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Beſides theſe Landgraveſhips, the Counts of *Furſtemberg* take upon them the quality of Landgraves of *Stillingnen* and *Bath*; and thoſe of *Sultz* are ſtyled Landgraves of *Klegeu*: But theſe two laſt prefer the title of Count before that of Landgrave; from whence you may judge, that the Landgraves are not all Princes.

P. *I conceive there is no Landgrave nor Burgrave but in* Germany, *and ſtrangers know not thoſe names in their own Countreys.*

G. Certainly there is no Landgraveſhip out of

of *Germany*, but some think that Burgrave is that which Forainers call Viscounts or Vigers. I refer my self to the truth in this case, and shall only tell you, that they who fancy and take delight in Quaternions, say there be four of them in *Germany*, to wit, of *Nuremberg*, *Magdebourg*, *Strombourg*, and *Reinek*. The two last whereof are no longer acknowledged for such: For *Strombourg* is a Castle situate between *Simeren* and *Creisenach*, which belongs to the Elector Palatine; and *Reinek* is fallen to the inheritance of the Counts of *Isenbourg*. The Elector of *Brandenbourg* doth still bear the title of Burgrave of *Nuremberg*; though *Frederick* V. of that name, who was made Elector on St. *Johns* Eve, *A. D.* 1417. sold unto the Burgers of *Nuremberg* the Castle which he had in that City, and some Villages and Forests, with the right of the Schulters or Aldermen, for 240000. Florins, reserving to himself the name and some rights: That of *Magdebourg* belongs to the Elector of *Saxony*, who bears the title thereof, and the Arms, which are a Demy-Eagle Argent in a Field Gules. There are some other Burgraves, as those of *Kirchemberg*, *Donau*, and *Fridberg*; but they are not equal to the former.

P. *Are the Archdukes ancient?*

G. That name was unknown before the time of *Frederick* III. and I think *Maximilian* of *Austria* was the first that bore it: And all the world affords no Archdukes but those of

Austria.

Austria. As to the cause for which those Princes took up that glorious title, I judge, that the Emperours of that House seeing their Family arrived to the highest degree of power and dignity, were desirous that it should have a peculiar name to it self; and for that reason they would never communicate it to any one else, though they have been entreated so to do very often and very earnestly. Now the word signifies Prince or chief of Dukes, as that of Archbishop signifies Prince or chief of Bishops: But I do not see that the Archdukes have any Suffragan Dukes, as the Archbishops, who have Bishops under them.

P. *I do not believe that the Archdukes pretend to have any Dukes their Suffragans, but only to shew by that title, that there is as much difference between them and other Dukes, as there is between an Archbishop and a Bishop. Tell me something of the Dukes.*

G. The title of Duke is very ancient, but it hath not alwayes been so considerable as it is now. The Romans honoured their chief Officers of war with that name, because they led on the souldiers to the battel. After that, and in process of time, the state of affairs obliging the Emperours to have Officers of quality and long experience in war to guard the Frontier Provinces, they sent some of their Dukes thither.

P. *The Emperours did not appoint Dukes only for the Government of Frontier Provinces,*

seeing

seeing those that lye in the midst of the Empire are honoured also with the title of Dukedom.

G. The first Governour that bore the quality of Duke was he of the Marches of *Rhetia*, a Countrey betwixt *Germany* and *Italy* which at this time we call the *Grisons*. To that Province the Emperours sent a Duke to withstand the *Germans*, who oftentimes endeavoured to make irruptions into *Italy* through that passage, since which, several Governours as well of other Provinces in the Empire as those on the Borders, have had the same honour, because it was thought necessary to send Garrisons into those parts, to keep the People in obedience, and also by that means to provide an honourable entertainment for those Lords that had served well in the wars. But as nothing is enough for ambition, those Governours in the end made themselves Masters of the Provinces which they had in charge: And so the Dukes grew great by the diminution and enfeebling of their Head, as the Marquisses, Landgraves, Burgraves, and Counts in like manner did. The word *Duke* is borrowed from the Latin *Ducere*, as *Hertzog* in Dutch from words that signify a Conductor of an Army.

P. *Are all Dukes of the same condition?*

G. There is not one in *Germany* but is a Prince, and allied to Kings; those of other Countreys are not so: And whether you consider their antiquity, or cast your eye upon their estates, Alliances, and manner of living, they

they ought certainly to be preferred before those of *Spain*, *France*, and *England*, and to be ranked equally with the greatest of *Italy*.

P. *I know that in* France *the ancient Dukedoms have been united to the Crown; that in* Spain *the proud* Morisco *humour gave the title of a Kingdom to the lands that are not worth a good County; and that in* England *there is never an ancient Duke. But before we enter upon a particular consideration of the Counts of the Empire, I pray tell we whether the Dukes were alwayes greater and more illustrious than the Counts.*

G. We have seen already that the Ancients called them *Duces* that led on Souldiers to the battel, and *Comites* those that were taken out of the Emperours Court to administer Justice to the Subjects of the Empire. A little after, the nature of those employments were altered, and the Dukes became Generals of Armies, or Governors of Provinces; and the Counts, chief Justices in the Cities and Provinces of the Empire: And both of them made themselves Masters of the lands whereof they were Judges or Governors. All those Lords assisted the Emperour in the beginning, some at the Council-board, and others in the field, all of them performing useful and beneficial service to the State: Nay, I believe, without regarding the title either of Duke or Count, the Emperours employed those Lords indifferently in the Palace or in the Armies; so that it is hard

to judge whether title was the more honourable. Yet it is to be obſerved, that there were ſome Counts by Office, and others by Dignity; that the former ſort were raiſed to places of authority without regard had to their Birth, and the others were equal, or very little inferior to the Dukes.

P. *There are ſome that preſume to ſay, that heretofore Counts were greater than Dukes.*

G. Gariban a diligent *Spaniſh* Hiſtoriographer, following the opinion of *Vaſco*, affirms that Counts were greater than Dukes, and endeavours to prove it from that which is found in the Councils held at *Toledo*, where ſome that ſubſcribed them ſtyled themſelves *Comites Proceres*, and *Comites Duces*. And the reaſon whereupon they ground that aſſertion, is, becauſe all thoſe that have many titles, ſet the greateſt in the firſt place: Which nevertheleſs is not always true; for the Cardinals of the Church of *Rome* when they ſign any thing, write Deacon Cardinal, Prieſt Cardinal, or Biſhop Cardinal, not to perſwade us that the dignity of Deacon, Prieſt, or Biſhop is above that of Cardinal, but to inform us that they are not barely Deacons or Prieſts, but Deacon Cardinals, that is, the moſt eminent Princes of the Church: And ſo it was with the Lords that ſubſcribed thoſe Councils; they ſtyled themſelves Counts, and for a diſtinction from others they added Duke as the more eminent.

P. *You will confeſs that the Sons and Bro-*

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thren of Kings, and the greateſt Officers of the Imperial and Royal Houſes have anciently contented themſelves with the title of Count; and if the Ducal dignity had been greater, they would without queſtion have deſired, ſought for, and obtained it.

G. The Titles which Kings have formerly given to their Children, as alſo thoſe of Count of the Palace, *Comes Stabuli* or Conſtable, and others which ſatisfied the principal Officers of the Imperial Court, do in no wiſe derogate from the quality of Duke: For at laſt thoſe Princes better bethought themſelves, and acknowledging that the name of Duke was alwayes a higher quality than that of Count, they deſired to be honoured with the ſame. I know very well, that the Counties of *Caſtille*, *Portugal*, *Flanders*, *Tyrol*, *Tolouſe*, *Provence*, and *Wirtemberg*, were very illuſtrious; but I know alſo that the Countreys of *Burgundy*, *Bavaria*, and *Lorraine*, did anciently bear ſometimes the title of Kingdom, ſometimes of Dukedom, and that the latter imported no leſs authority than the other. The Princes of *Poland*, *Hungary*, and *Bohemia*, who are at this time great Kings, did for many ages bear no more than the quality of Duke: Nay, ſome Provinces in *Spain* were governed by Dukes a thouſand years before the birth of Chriſt; and when that Countrey was aſſaulted by the *Carthaginians*, and afterwards by the *Romans*, it was vigorouſly defended by the ſame

Dukes, who were Soveraign and independent. From whence you may judge, that the title of Duke was almoſt equal to that of King, before ever there were any Counts; and ſo conclude, that albeit in certain Countreys and times the title of Duke hath been ſomewhat abaſed, yet it was never inferior to that of Count, but alwayes greater.

P. *The Counts Palatine and the Marquiſſes of* Brandenburg *are nevertheleſs as much, or more than the greateſt Dukes in* Germany.

G. I agree with you; but that derogates nothing from the title of Duke in general, foraſmuch as thoſe Princes are not barely Counts, but Counts Palatine, Margraves, and Electors; and as ſuch, placed amongſt the firſt Princes of the Empire.

P. *I am ſatisfied; and having ſeen that a Duke is, and alwayes was greater than a Count, I beſeech you declare unto me thoſe of the Empire: But before we go any further, tell me whether you think that true which ſome Writers affirm, that a Duke ſhould have four Counts under him.*

G. I have juſt now demonſtrated unto you, that a Count was alwayes leſs than a Duke: But I eſteem it a mere dream, and a folly below a diſcourſing ſoul to reſolve, that an Emperour ſhould have under him four Kingdoms; a King four Dutchies, a Duke four Counties, a Count four Baronies, a Baron four Caſtellanies, and a Caſtellan four Fiefs. Thoſe maxim

of Quaternions ſhould be expelled out of your thoughts as ridiculous: Otherwiſe all they that have four Kingdoms would be Emperours; and the Emperour loſing one of thoſe four which he had, would ceaſe to be Emperour. Beſides all Kingdoms are not equal; and it would require a great many ſuch Kingdoms as *Valencia*, *Murcia*, *Granada*, *Algarvia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Ivica* and *Tuetot*, to make one great King. And on the other ſide, if any one could have three Kingdoms equal to that of *France* in richneſs of ſoil, abundance of People, and number of Nobility, he might equalize the greateſt Emperours; and the Count of *Champagne*, to whom ſeven other Counts did homage, would almoſt double the proportion of a Duke.

P. *Having ſeen in your former diſcourſe the force of the Latin word* Comes, *and the Dutch* Grave, *together with all its compounds, and other things which I deſired to know concerning the Counts in general; you will oblige me now, to come in particular to the Counts of the Empire, and tell me what was their original, what their power is at preſent, and what their dignity.*

G. *Stephanus Paſchalis*, a famous ſearcher of Antiquity, ſaith there were as many, nay more Counts than Cities in *Gaule*, when the French made themſelves maſters of it; and that the Conquerors deſiring to uſe their new Kingdom favourably, and give a ſubdued Peo-

ple no cauſe of complaint, kept up all the offices and commands which the *Romans* had introduced amongſt them. The Laws of *Charlemagne* and of his Son *Lewis* the *Debonaire* are full of the order which the Counts were to obſerve in the adminiſtration of juſtice. From whence you may gather, that the Counts of thoſe times were not raiſed to ſuch a height of Dignity as they are now.

P. *If the Counts were but Judges, who uſually are ſuch no longer than their Prince pleaſeth; how came it to paſs that they made themſelves Maſters of the Lands which were under their Juriſdiction?*

G. Though the Emperours had power to deprive the Counts of their Offices, yet for the moſt part they let them enjoy them during their lives; and if they had any Sons capable to ſucceed them, they were preferred before any other: And that they might be the better enabled to attend upon the adminiſtration of Juſtice, and defend the People when need ſhould require, the Emperours granted them Fiefs within the Territory of their Juriſdiction, which Fiefs gave them opportunity to make themſelves Maſters of all the reſt, and to tranſmit the ſame unto their Heirs.

P. *Is it long ſince the Counts made their Counties hereditary?*

G. It is hard to ſay under what Emperour that remarkable change hapned in the Empire; but it is probable that it was under the Deſcendants

dants of *Charlemagne*, in the time when *Charles* the Bald and his Son *Lewis* the Stammerer made their reſidence in *France*, and were at variance with the Sons of *Lewis Germanicus* their kinsmen, who ſaid the Imperial dignity belonged to them.

P. *By what you have hitherto ſaid I can ſufficiently comprehend what was the power of the ancient Counts: Do me the kindneſs to tell me what that is they have at preſent.*

G. I do not believe it is your deſire to know what Rents, Fortreſſes, Cities, or Subjects every Count hath; much leſs, what they might be able to do all together: For it would be impoſſible for me to anſwer you. Imagining then that you only ask, what place they have in the Aſſemblies, and after what manner they give their ſuffrages there, I anſwer, that they ſit immediately next after the Princes, and that they have two voices, one for the Bench of *Wetteravia*, the other for that of *Swaben*. For the reſt, in their particular Meetings every one hath his voice, and being agreed, they make choice of one out of their Body to carry their opinion unto the Colledge of the Princes.

P. *Have all the Counts right to ſit in the general Aſſemblies?*

G. They only that are Eſtates of the Empire enjoy that priviledge; and thoſe that are not inſcribed in the Matriculation-Roll, nor contribute any thing to the neceſſities, nor have any land immediately held of the Empire, are

abſolutely excluded from thence.

P. *Seeing the Counts that the Emperour makes in his hereditary Provinces, are not admitted into the Aſſemblies, there will be but few that have place there.*

G. There were more formerly than at this time, becauſe ſome Counties have been erected into Principalities, and many are ſwallowed up into the power of the Princes. *Tyrol*, *Henneberg*, *Montbeliard*, *Tubing*, *Oldenbourg*, *Spanheim*, and *Weldents*, belong to the Houſes of *Auſtria*. *Saxony*, *Wirtemberg*, *Holſtein*, and the *Palatine*: *Schawenbourg*, *Hohenzolleren*, and *Eaſt-Friſeland*, have been made Principalities, the two firſt by *Ferdinand* II. and the laſt by *Ferdinand* III. who having Reigned twenty years almoſt in continual trouble, entred into the reſt of the Bleſſed, the 2. of *April* in this preſent year 1657. Now thoſe Lords taking place among the Princes, encreaſe their number and power by the diminution of that of the Counts.

P. *Are all thoſe Counts whoſe lands have not been erected into Principalities, of the ſame condition and dignity?*

G. To provide a ſatisfactory anſwer to your queſtion, you muſt know, there be three ſorts of Counts in *Germany*, not compriſing thoſe of *Auſtria*. The firſt are Eſtates of the Empire, as well in regard of their perſons, as of their Fiefs; the ſecond having one or more Lands holding immediately of the Empire, and by rea-

ſon

ſon thereof being Eſtates of the Empire, do alſo hold a Fief of ſome particular Prince, in regard whereof they are his Subjects, and obliged to do him ſome ſervice: The third ſort have no Fief holding immediately of the Empire, and conſequently no place in the Diets. And thus ſome have more intereſt in the benefits, and affairs of the Empire than others, and ſeem to be of a higher condition.

P. *All the Immediate Counts of the Empire are like ſo many little Kings, and pay but very few acknowledgements to the Emperour. Many of them coyn money, and exerciſe other Regalities, whereby they draw near to the rank and condition of Princes; and for that cauſe the very Electors are not thought to marry below themſelves when they take ſuch Counteſſes to be their Wives: I do not know whether it be ſo or no when they take others.*

G. It is certain that the Electors have Married Immediate Counteſſes; and I think they might have Married others without wronging their poſterity. There are ſome Counts who are Subjects, and yet have born the quality of Princes for a long time, being no way inferior to the greateſt. I ſhall not bring many examples of it, ſince it will be ſufficient to make you confeſs this truth, when I tell you, that if a Prince ſhould Marry a Counteſs of *Egmont* or of *Horn*, he would do nothing contrary to his Dignity, although thoſe Counts were Subjects to the Duke of *Burgundy*; becauſe the firſt were

were Dukes of *Guelderland*, and the other are of the Houſe of *Montmorancy*, which is the prime Family of *France*.

P. *Give me a liſt of the Counts that have ſeſſion in the Diets of the Empire.*

G. I ſhall reckon you thoſe that are come to my knowledge, and place them after the order of the Alphabet, for fear I ſhould offend againſt that of their rank. *Badembourg*, *Barby*, *Bentheim*, *Bramerſdorf*, *Caſtel*, *Delmenhorſt*, *Eichemberg*, *Erbach*, *Eberſtein*, *Furſtemberg*, *Glerchem*, *Hanau*, *Helfenſtein*, *Hohehobe*, or *Holach*, *Hohengeroldſeck*, *Hohenlandsberg*, *Kirchemberg*, *Lewenſtein*, *Limbourg*, *Lupfen*, *Leininguen* of *Abſperg*, *Lippe*, *Mansfeld*, *Montfort*, *Naſſau*, *Oldenbourg*, *Ottinguen*, *Ortembourg*, *Reitpolskirchem*, *Rhingraves*, *Reuſſen*, *Salme*, *Saym*, *Solmes*, *Sults*, *Schwartzbourg*, *Stolberg*, *Tenguen*, *Waldek*, *Walpourg*, *Wied*, *Wineberg*, *Wolkenſtein*, *Zimberen*. The Counts of *Schwartzbourg* hold lands in Fee of the Dukes of *Saxony*; thoſe of *Waldek*, of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*; and the *Rhingraves* acknowledge the dependence of *Salme* and *Morange* upon the Duke of *Lorraine*.

P. *I do not believe you can give me ſo exact a relation of all theſe Counts, as you have done of the Princes; but if you know any thing concerning them, you will do me a pleaſure to impart it to me.*

G. I have uſed my uttermoſt endeavour to get a Genealogy of the Counts, but could never

ver compaſs it, becauſe for the moſt part they are ignorant themſelves of the root of their own Houſes. So that I know but very little; yet if you deſire it, I ſhall acquaint you with what I know.

P. *Tell me ſomething of the Houſe of* Naſſau.

G. I intended to have ſpoken of the Lords of that Houſe in another place; yet reſerving liberty to inſiſt upon them, when we ſhall diſcourſe of the Republick of *Holland* (in the eſtabliſhment and preſervation whereof they have had the greateſt hand) I ſhall tell you, that ſome there be who ſeek the Origin of that Houſe in *Ceſars* Commentaries, where he ſpeaks of one *Naſſua* a Prince of *Suevia:* Others would have it come from *Rome* with the ſame Emperour, and ſay he gave them the County of *Naſſau.* The moſt incredulous find it illuſtrious in the Empire many ages ſince; and cannot deny but that *Otho* Count of *Naſſau,* Son to *John* and Nephew to *Eberhard*, was General of the Army of the Emperour *Henry* the Fowler againſt the *Hungarians*, and that he dyed and was buried at *Nuremberg.* At that time it had been long in poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Naſſau* in the Countrey of *Heſſe* upon the river of *Doüa*, near the place where the *Moſelle* falls into the *Rhine.* A little while after another *Otho* Son to *Walderam* II. having Married the Heireſs of *Guelderland*, was made the firſt Count thereof by the Emperour *Henry* IV. *A. D.* 1079. and his

his Succeſſors poſſeſſed it in the quality of Counts till the year 1339. at which time the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria* made *Reinold* of *Naſſau* Duke of *Guelderland*. A little after, that Branch was totally extinguiſhed, and the Principality of *Guelderland* was united to that of *Juliers*. The Houſe continued howſoever potent in lands and number of great perſonages: For *Walderam* II. left *Walderam* III. (from whom came the Emperour *Adolph*, and the Branch of *Sarbrug*) and *Otho* III. from whom are deſcended the Princes of *Orange*, and the Counts of *Naſſau*, *Breda*, and *Dilembourg*, who are great in number and conſideration.

P. *I know that Houſe hath produced Heroical ſpirits that have made the world underſtand, the King of* Spain *was not invincible; and that* William, Maurice, *and* Frederick Henry *of* Naſſau *ſtopt his Chariot when he was driving apace to the Univerſal Monarchy. Tell me ſomething of their Alliances.*

G. There are few Houſes in *Europe* which are not allied to that of *Naſſau*. *Otho* Married the Heireſs of *Guelderland*, and brought that County into his Houſe, as that of *Zutphen* alſo in the year 1079. Another *Otho* was Husband to *Adelais*, who brought him the County of *Viande*, and the Baronies of St. *Vit* and *Grumberg*, about the year 1350. *Enguilbert* Grandchild to *Otho* took to Wife the Heireſs of *Breda*; *John* Married *Anne* Counteſs of *Catzenellebogen*, by whom he was Count of *Dietz*; and *Henry*

Henry Son to *John* Married *Claudina* of *Chaalons*, upon whom he begat *Renatus* the univerſal Heir to *Philibert* of *Chaalons* Prince of *Orange*: Now *Renatus* leaving no Children by *Anne* Daughter to *Antony* Duke of *Lorraine*, had for the Succeſſor of his whole eſtate *William* of *Naſſau*, who was Founder of the Commonwealth of *Holland*. That Prince had four Wives; *Anne* of *Egmont* Counteſs of *Barc*, *Anne* Daughter to *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, *Charlotta* of *Bourbon* Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*, and *Loüyſe* of *Coligni*: His Daughters were Married to *William Lewis* Count of *Naſſau*, *Emanuel* Son to *Antony* King of *Portugal*, *Philip* Count of *Hohenlohe*, *Frederick* IV. Elector Palatine, *Henry de la Tour* Duke of *Bouillon*, *Claude de la Trimouille* Duke of *Toüars*, and *Philip* Count of *Hanau*.

P. *I did not think that Houſe was ſo well allied.*

G. *Philip William* eldeſt Son to the ſaid *William* Married a Siſter of the Prince of *Conde*: And *William* Son to *Frederick Henry* his youngeſt Son (while he was in minority) was Married unto *Mary* eldeſt Daughter to *Charles* I. King of Great *Britain*. *John* Brother to *William* had three Wives, and amongſt them *Cunegonde* Daughter to *Frederick* III. Elector Palatine. *John* who was Husband to *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Holſtein*, and *Erneſt Caſimir* to *Sophia* Dutcheſs of *Brunſwick*. The Counts of *Naſſau* are alſo very highly allied: *Lewis* Married

ried *Anne Amelia*, and *John Sibyll Magdalen* both Daughters to *George Frederick* Marquis of *Baden*. From whence you may eaſily ſee, that there be few Princes ſo well allied as thoſe of *Naſſau*. Laſtly, thoſe of *Sarbrug* do ſtill bear the title of Count, and all the reſt that of Prince.

P. *That which you have told me of the Houſe of* Naſſau *encreaſes the deſire I have to know the other Counts. Give ſome particulars concerning thoſe of* Hohenzolleren.

G. We ſaid ſomething of them when we were ſpeaking of the Princes; to which I now add, that *Eitel Frederick*, who was living in the year 1202. Married *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Adilbert* Count of *Habſpourg*, the Emperour *Rodolph* I. his own Siſter; from whom the Electors of *Brandenbourg* and the Counts of *Hohenzolleren* are deſcended. *Frederick* the Black is very famous for his Military exploits, and *Juſtus Nicolas* for re-edifying the Fort of *Hohenzolleren*, which had been ruined by *Henrietta* Counteſs of *Wirtemberg* and *Montbeliard*: That action was the more Illuſtrious, becauſe *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, *Albert* Elector of *Brandenbourg*, *Albert* Duke of *Auſtria*, and *Charles* Marquis of *Baden*, laid the firſt ſtone of it, uſing a Tray, a Trowel, and a Mallet, all of Silver, about the year 1480. The Lords of that Houſe are Hereditary Chamberlains to the Emperour ſince the time of *Maximilian* I. who to recompenſe the ſervices of *Eitel Frederick* VII. of that

name,

name, honoured him with that Office to him and his Succeſſors.

P. *The Houſe of* Furſtemberg *is very renowned in Hiſtory; I would gladly know ſomething of it.*

G. Thoſe Lords were grown very Illuſtrious in the time of *Henry* the Fowler, to whom *Lewis* Count of *Freibourg* and *Furſtemberg* performed great ſervices, maintaining at his own charge threeſcore men at arms againſt the *Huns*; and he was a party in the *Turnament* held at *Magdebourg* in the year 935. He was Son to *Frederick* and to *Agnes* Daughter to a King of *Scotland*; and from him are deſcended all thoſe that at this time bear the name and arms of *Furſtemberg*. *Conrade* Son to *Egon* and to *Agnes* Dutcheſs of *Zeringuen*, being Biſhop of *Loſanna* and Cardinal of the title of St. *Ruffina*, was choſen Pope, and refuſed it.

P. *There are more to be found that ſollicite for the Popedom, than that reject it when it is offered.*

G. *Egon* Brother to *Conrade* added to his other titles that of Count of *Aurach*, and his Succeſſors enjoyed it till about the year 1443. at which time that County paſt into the Houſe of *Wirtemberg*. *Henry* V. accompanied the Emperour *Frederick* III. when he went to be Crowned at *Rome*; *Henry* his Son dyed at *Tournay* in the ſervice of the Emperour *Maximilian* I. And *William* Son to *Conrade* is celebrated in the Hiſtory of *France* for having ſerved and

and disserved King *Francis* I. To conclude, all those that are living at present, are descended from *Frederick* and *Anne* Countess of *Heckhemberg*, who left two Sons, *Christopher* and *Joachim*: From the first come, *Elizabeth* the worthy Spouse of *Frederick* Marquis of *Baden Dourlach*; *Eleonor*, Married to *John Eusebius Fugger* Count of *Kirksberg*; *John Maximilian*, *Frebemus Maria*, *John Martin*, and *Francis* young Lady still, and of extraordinary beauty. From *Joachim* are descended *Francis Egon* Canon of *Collen* and *Strasbourg*, great Steward, great Chamberlain, and Counsellor of State to the Elector of *Collen*; *Herman Egon*, and *William Egon*, both Churchmen; *Mary Frances* Widow to *William* Palatine and Duke of *Newbourg*; and *Ferdinand Frederick Egon*, Counsellor, Chamberlain, and Captain of the Halberdiers Guard to the Emperour *Ferdinand* III. This Count was born *February* 6. 1623. and communicated his Genealogy to me upon the ending of the year 1654.

P. *I should be glad that you would run through all the Houses of the Counts of the Empire, that I might know them well; but seeing that is impossible, I shall content my self with what you will be pleased to tell me of them.*

G. I will tell you what I know; but that will be no great matter. The Counts of *Barby* are allied to the Dukes of *Brunswick*, and to the Princes of *Anhalt* and *East-Friseland*; they use

uſe the title of Noble Lords. Thoſe of *Caſtel* are as ancient as the Empire in *Germany*; they are of the chiefeſt perſons of *Franconia*, fruitful in vertue, great in merit, happy in alliance, Soveraign in their Juſtice, and might raiſe envy in many, though they had none but *Wolfgang George*, Preſident of the Council of State, and great Steward of the Court of *Wirtemberg*, a moſt excellent pattern of Piety, Juſtice, and Integrity. The Counts of *Oldenbourg* and of *Delmenhorſt* are totally extinguiſhed by the death of *Antony Gunther*, who having made his name known amongſt all the greateſt Princes, and ſecured his lands by the great number of Horſes which he gave away, to ſave himſelf from loſing 1200. breeding Mares which he had in his grounds, died without Children lawfully begotten in the year 1656. at leaſt, if I may believe the *Gazette*, where I read it, though ſome men do not agree to it. The King of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Holſtein*, inherited his Counties; *John* Prince of *Anhalt*; the Lordſhip of *Iever*; and *Antony* Count of *Oldenbourg* his natural Son, all the reſt of his lands. Thoſe of *Erbach* find their original in the affection which a Daughter of *Charlemagnes* bore to a Gentleman in her Fathers Court, who being recommended by his own merit, as much as he was favoured by the generoſity of *Charles*, had the honour to Marry her, after he had had that of being carried upon her back through the Court of the Palace. The Counts of *Hanau*

have as large an eſtate as a great Prince, and in that a Juſtice from which their Subjects cannot appeal: And having often both given and taken Daughters to and from the beſt Houſes of the Empire, they have been ſo happy as to ſee a Noble Lady of their family ſteer the State of *Heſſe*, and bring it ſucceſsfully into the Port during the moſt dreadful ſtorm that ever blew upon the Empire for many ages.

P. *You paſs many Houſes over in ſilence.*

G. Thoſe of which I ſay nothing, are unknown to me. The Counts of *Helfenſtein*, having flouriſhed above a thouſand years, expired ſome years ſince. Thoſe of *Leiningen* judge their Subjects cauſes without any Appeal. The Houſe of *Hohenlohe* would be very mighty, if it had not divided its lands into many portions: The Lords thereof are naturally Souldiers, brave, well made both in body and mind, and glorious as well through their own merit, as for that of their Anceſtors. The Barons of *Limbourg*, whom all Writers place amongſt the Counts, have a title of *Semperfrey*, alwayes free, that no body bears but they: They are ſo ancient, that they know not their own beginning; and ſo well known in *Germany*, that their priviledge of being Vicars to the King of *Bohemia* Great Cup-bearer of the Empire, is obvious to every one. They of *Mansfeld* are of different Religions: One of the Catholicks is Governour of *Raab* in *Hungary*, the other is Maſter of the Horſe to the Emperour: Of the *Lutherans*,

John

John George is travelling to enable himſelf to anſwer the hopes which his Countrey conceives of his vertue. This County is plentiful in Copper and other Minerals, and famous for many things, but eſpecially for *Eiſeliben* where Doctor *Luther* was born in the year 1484. and dyed there 63. years after. The Counts of *Montfort* have nothing common with thoſe in *France*, but the name; they are certainly very noble, very ancient, and very vertuous.

P. *If you ſay nothing of the Counts of* Ottinguen *and of the* Rhingraves, *I will tell you what I know of them.*

G. I ſpeak of the Counts in an Alphabetical method, not always ſuitable to their merit; otherwiſe many ſhould have come behind thoſe Houſes ſo abounding in extraordinary perſonages. That of *Ottinguen* is divided into two principal Branches: That of *Waldenſtein* is Catholick, that of *Ottinguen* Lutheran, and both perfectly well allied; but ſpecially *Joachim Erneſt*, who having already had one Counteſs of *Solmes*, and another of *Hohenlohe*, is in the laſt place Married to a Princeſs Palatine; and had of the two former, beſides many ſweet Children, *Sophia Margaret*, and *Mary Dorothy Sophia*, Princeſſes whoſe graces and endowments of body and mind have acquired, to the firſt the chaſt love and conjugal bed of *Albert* Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg* of *Anſpach*; to the ſecond, that of *Eberhard* Duke of *Wirtemberg*; and to the Father, two Sons-in-law equal in Grandeur,

Piety, and Magnificence. The *Rhingraves* have furniſhed matter to ſo many Hiſtories ancient and modern, that no body is a ſtranger to their Vertue, Nobility, and Generoſity. The Counts of *Schwartzbourg* are great in Riches, Verſue and Alliances: When I paſſed through their Countrey, *Clara* Dutcheſs of *Brunſwick* and *Sophia Agnes* Princeſs of *Anhalt*, were Widows to two Lords of that Houſe; and *Antony Gunther* had a Princeſs Palatine. Many believe the Counts of *Solmes* are iſſued out of thoſe of *Naſſau*: They are not rich, but you will meet with few Lords ſo well Allied. *Frederick Henry* Prince of *Orange*, the honour of the Captains of our age, had the Generous *Amelia*; *Joachim Erneſt* Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg* had the Phenix of Beauty and Chaſtity, *Sophia*; *Frederick* Marquiſs of *Dourlach*, the incomparable *Eleonor*; *Auguſtus* Prince of *Anhalt*, the Pious *Sibyll*; *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Amiable *Sophia Dorothy*; *Maurice* Landgrave of *Heſſe*, the fair *Agnes*; and *Erneſt* his Son hath at this time *Mary Eleoner*, all Counteſſes of *Solmes*. From whence we may conclude, that this Houſe is fruitful in Beautiful and Vertuous Ladies.

P. *I would willingly have heard a word of the Counts of* Salme *and* Stolberg; *but if you find it difficult, paſs on to the conſideration of the Barons of the Empire.*

G. The Counts of *Salme* were raiſed to the rank of Princes, though their lands be held of the

the Duke of *Lorraine*: They are *Rhingraves*, and all the *Rhingraves* bear the name and Arms of *Salme*. They of *Stolberg* are inferior to none either in antiquity of Nobility, or greatneſs of Alliances, or priviledges: They coyn money both of Gold and Silver, and bear for their Arms a Stag Sable, becauſe one of the ancient Counts of that Houſe giving an entertainment of hunting to the Emperour *Conrade* of *Franconia*, a black Stag was taken, and the Emperour would tranſmit the memory thereof to poſterity by that change of Arms. As to the Barons, you ought to know that they who are Eſtates of the Empire, do hardly differ from the Counts but in name: In all things elſe they are equal; they marry their Daughters, they are in the ſame Claſſe at the Diets of the Empire, they give their Suffrages there after the ſame manner, and enjoy the ſame immunities; laſtly, they are both alike ſtyled Illuſtrious.

P. *Methinks we have a great many Barons in* Germany.

G. There are but few Barons of the Empire: To be ſuch an one, it is neceſſary to be Matriculated, and contribute to the neceſſities of the State; which belongs not to any one of thoſe whom the Emperour creates upon a new ſcore in his hereditary Countreys, how rich and potent ſoever they be: And for that cauſe they have neither voice nor place in the Aſſemblies of the Empire. Many of the ancient Ba-

rons have taken the quality of Count; those which remain are *Creange*, *Fleckenſtein*, *Fugger*, *Hohengeroldſeck*, *Konigſeck*, *Limbourg*, *Maxelrein*, *Perleſtein*, *Plaven*, *Rapolſtein*, *Schombourg*, *Scheuk* of *Tautemberg*, *Wolfenſtein*, *Winemberg*, *Walbot*, and it may be ſome others that are not come to my knowledge. Part of thoſe of *Creange* are Counts; but the others are not inferior to them, being allyed even to Princes, and very near to the Houſes of *Naſſau* and the *Rhingraves*: They of *Fleckenſtein* have ſignalized themſelves in the laſt War, where they got honour, and ſerved in the quality of Generals: The *Fuggers* are not very ancient, but remarkable for vertue, and for their priviledges of Soveraign Juſtice upon their Lands. The Barons or Counts of *Rapolſtein*, who are otherwiſe called *Ribaupierre*, were Dukes of *Spoleto*; and having lived many ages with ſplendor, and appeared at ſeveral Turnaments, are now reduced to *John James*, to whom I wiſh iſſue male, for the preſervation of his Illuſtrious Houſe, which will otherwiſe end in him. All the reſt are unknown to me.

P. *It is ſomething to be Baron of the Empire, in regard of the place they have in the Aſſemblies; otherwiſe I think there is but little difference between one Baron and another.*

G. They that bear the ſame title, are not alwayes of the ſame condition: One who hath been declared Doctor in an Univerſity where no

no man is received but he that hath given proof of his learning, is to be preferred before him who hath gotten Letters in another University for a piece of money. And so it is in this matter: They that are Barons by merit, and are allyed to great Families for many generations, are and ought to be preferred before those that have not the like advantages Otherwise, I do not think that for having place in the Diets one is much to be preferred before another that is equal in vertue, merit, and antiquity.

P. *I am of your opinion: But from whence comes the word Baron?*

G. I think it was derived from the Latin *Vir*; for as *Baron* signifies a personage Illustrious for vertue and birth, so also the Latin word *Vir* signifies a man separate and distinct from the vulgar by his *Vertue*. Now this title hath been diversly taken according to the diversity of times and places. By the *Barons* were anciently understood in *France* all the Subjects that held immediately of the King; and so the word comprehended Dukes, Counts, and other Lords indifferently. This opinion may be verified out of *Aymonius*, and some other Historians, who sometimes bring in the King speaking to the Lords his followers, and when he would exhort them to some generous action, beginning with these words, *My Barons*. The *Spaniards* speaking of some Illustrious persons, call them *Varones* or *Barones*: And therefore *Lewis de Camoes* in his description of the Conquest of the

Indies by the *Portugueſes*, begins his Poem in this manner, *As armas e os Varones aſſinalados*. The *Italians* only do ſometimes take the word *Baron* for a beggerly fellow.

P. *Have not the* Italians *Barons alſo amongſt them?*

G. Yes, more than Baronies, and it may be they are beggers, becauſe there are ſo many of them. However it be, Barons are every where reckoned above the loweſt rate and rank of Nobility, except by abuſe ſome one have been raiſed to that degree who was not a Gentleman before: In which caſe, I think the ancient Nobility ought not to give him place, nor he to pretend to it; becauſe the Letters Patent which a Secretary of the Emperour puts into a piece of Parchment, are not of ſuch validity as to make thoſe worthy of that rank, who are obnoxious to ſuch notable defects. And though the Emperour himſelf ſhould have commanded his Letters to be diſpatched, yet were it not to be preſumed that he intended to raiſe an Upſtart above him that brought the right of precedence from his Mothers womb.

P. *There is not the meaneſt Baron, but thinks himſelf more than the higheſt Gentleman.*

G. Uſually men flatter themſelves, and ſet a greater value upon themſelves than they really deſerve. Even Philoſophers take their own meaſures amiſs; and the greateſt Saints had need to pray earneſtly, and ſay from their heart, Lord,

Lord, make me to know both my ſelf and Thee; that knowing my ſelf, I may be humble, and knowing Thee, I may magnifie thy Name: Grant that we may all know our ſelves; baniſh out of our hearts that common vain pretenſe to place and precedence; teach us to neglect that honour which ſhines not but in the ſmoke of vanity. Certainly it troubles *Germany* more than any other Countrey in *Europe*.

The end of the Seventh Dialogue.

DIALOGUE VIII.

Of the Knights, the Gentlemen, the Turnaments, and the Cities of the Empire.

P. *TO ſee the title of this Dialogue, one would judge that you put a difference between the Knight and the Gentleman; and yet throughout all* Germany *the Nobility goes under the name of Knighthood, and the Gentlemen writing in Latin ſtyle themſelves* Equites, *that is, Knights.*

G. Though German Gentlemen be called *Equites* in Latin, yet it is certain there is difference

rence between the Knight and the Gentleman: For first, the Knight hath been alwayes more privileged than the Gentleman: 2. The chance of birth makes the Gentleman, without his contributing any thing to it; but worth and valour raises the Knight to that degree of honour. 3. Princes and Lords do not seek for the title of a Gentleman, as they do very earnestly for that of a Knight. And 4. the Gentleman is born so, the Knight comes to be so, that is, a Gentleman begets a Gentleman, but a Knight begets not a Knight.

P. *I have heard say, that the Sons of great Princes are Knights from their cradle; which if it be so, it may be said, that a Knight begets a Knight.*

G. I know the French say that the Sons of their Kings are Knights in the very moment of their birth: Nevertheless *Lewis* XI. received the Order of Knighthood by the hand of *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* the day of his Inauguration the 16. *August* 1461. *Francis* I. before the Battel of *Marignan September* 17. 1515. received the same honour from *Peter Bayard* a Gentleman of *Dauphiné*, who for his valour was surnamed *the Knight without reproach*. And when *William* Count of *Holland* was chosen King of the *Romans*, he would be created Knight before he received the Crown. Whereby it appears, that some great Princes thought they were not born Knights: And though I should allow that the Sons of Kings are so from

from their Cradle, it is certain that others are not ſo, ſeeing Princes themſelves do not aſſume that quality, if they have not ſolemnly received that honour.

P. *I know that commonly they that are called Knights, are aſſociated into ſome Order Regular or Secular; but I do not know the difference between thoſe Orders.*

G. The Regular Orders have been approved by the Pope under ſome Rule, and the Secular have been inſtituted by ſome other Prince. The former oblige their Knights to the vows of Poverty, Chaſtity, and Obedience; the other, only to endeavour and procure the honour and advantage of the Head of their Order. Now as men are received into the number of Knights for their merit, or for the hope which he that beſtows that honour hath, that the perſon admitted will do worthy actions; ſo a Knight forfeits and becomes deprived of the ſame honour for the enormous crimes he commits contrary to the expectation of him that received him into the Fellowſhip of the Order.

P. *All Knights are not received after the ſame manner, nor degraded for the ſame offence.*

G. Into the greateſt part of Regular Orders they admit Gentlemen that have attained to the age of 18. years, and conſequently before they have given any proof of their merit; and they are degraded for murders baſely committed by lying in ambuſh, or other crimes unworthy of ſuch

ſuch perſons: But Kings admit none into their Orders but thoſe that have performed good and conſiderable ſervices, and for that cauſe a man is oftentimes well in years before he can obtain that honour; of which alſo he cannot be deprived but for High Treaſon Divine or Humane, or for notorious cowardize, as having run away from his Colours, and forſaken his Chief.

P. *If it be ſo, there is leſs honour in being admitted into a Regular than into a Secular Order.*

G. I do really think ſo; becauſe for the obtaining of the latter, it is requiſite that a man joyn his own vertue unto that of his Anceſtors: And the Order which makes him that is admitted into it Companion of a Soveraign, and familiar with his King, hath doubtleſs ſomething more eminent in it, than that which only makes him Brother and Companion of certain Gentlemen.

P. *I would willingly know why ſo many Orders of Knighthood have been inſtituted.*

G. Neceſſity was the firſt and principal cauſe of all thoſe Orders. The Regulars began after *Godfrey* of *Bullion* had taken *Jeruſalem*; when ſome valiant Gentlemen having voluntarily undertaken the defence of the oppreſſed, the maintenance of Hoſpitals, the care of Pilgrims, and the ſecuring of the ways, Popes gave them priviledges, and beſtowed honours upon them, to draw on others to the ſame profeſſion:

Which

Which is honourable to the Church of *Rome*, as well for the zeal which Catholicks ſhow in viſiting the Holy places, as becauſe all the Nobility alſo that embraces a Rule, becomes ſubject to the Pope.

P. *Had Kings the ſame deſign?*

G. Conquerours made Souldiers willing to follow them, by ſharing the fruit of their Conqueſts with them; and when their Succeſſors had not eſtate enough to reward all the glorious actions and eminent ſervices which Gentlemen did for them, being perſwaded that a man of courage values nothing comparably to honours, which diſtinguiſh him from other men, they invented thoſe Orders, which without exhauſting their Treaſure would gain them the flower of their Subjects, and enflame all others with an extreme deſire to make themſelves worthy of the ſame honour. I think it was for that reaſon, that anciently they created Knights juſt before the Battel, to make them engage more reſolutely; or preſently after it, to recompenſe thoſe that had the greateſt hand in the victory.

P. *I would know whether there be many Knights in* Germany.

G. There be Knights of four ſorts, who ought to be Princes, Lords or Gentlemen. The Emperour dubs ſome by touching them lightly upon the ſhoulder with a naked ſword, and ſaying to them, *Eſto miles Dei & Sancti Stephani*, Be a Souldier of God and of St. *Stephen*;

phens and thoſe wear no Collar or other mark to diſtinguiſh them from other Gentlemen. The Kings of *Spain*, *England*, and *Denmark*, do alſo ſend their Order to ſuch Lords as they ſet moſt value upon: The firſt wears the Golden Fleece, the ſecond the Garter, and the third the Elephant enamelled with white and enchaſed with a Croſs of five great Diamonds. All the other Knights are of the Military Orders of *Pruſſia*, or *Malta*: The former have the Black Croſs, and are named *Teutonicks*; the latter wear a white one, and are called Knights Hoſpitallers of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*. Heretofore all of the laſt Order were Catholicks, but there are ſome of them now that are not ſo, and poſſeſs the Commanderies which the Proteſtant Princes have not incorporated into their Demeſnes. But if you happen to ſee any German, Suiſſe, or Hollander wearing the Collar of the Order of St. *Michael*, you may take notice that the moſt Chriſtian King ſometimes confers the honour of that Order upon thoſe that have done him ſome acceptable ſervice.

P. *Do all Emperours and Kings of the* Roman *makes Knights?*

G. If they do not, at leaſt they may all do ſo: And at the Coronation of *Charles* V. there was ſuch an abuſe, that all thoſe that would have that honour, received it, although they were not Gentlemen. In our dayes it hath not been ſo abuſed: For when the laſt *Ferdinand*

was

was crowned at *Ratisbon*, he created 28. Knights, the greatest part of them very Illustrious both by their birth and merit.

P. *Now I see what difference there is between a Knight and a Cavalier: I pray discourse something of the Nobility.*

G. There are Countreys in *Europe*, where the Nobility is distinguished into Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen; who all together make one part of the State, and are the Kings right arm, the support of his Crown, and the prop of his authority. It is not so in *Germany*; where the Princes, nay the poorest Lords would take it for an affront to be called Gentlemen: Who, as we have seen before, are absolutely separated from the Body of the Nobility, and have their interest apart.

P. *I know already that the Princes are Estates of the Empire, and have no communion with the Nobility: But I would willingly know whether all the Gentlemen of* Germany *make one Body, whether they be equal in priviledges, and whether they mutually assist one another in their necessities.*

G. The Nobility of *Germany* is of two sorts: One Immediate, acknowledging none but the Emperour; the other Mediate, that acknowledges the Emperour as Head of the Empire, yet without being exempt from the jurisdiction of another Prince. This latter hath not so much liberty as the former, but is for all that excellent in its degree, there being never a Gentleman

man in *Germany* that doth not prefer a poor Gentlewoman before a rich Burgers Daughter, and wonders at the mixture of different qualities uſed in other places. But this Body being united only by the ligaments of name and condition, there is little or no help to be expected from one to another.

P. *Is the Nobility that depends upon Princes equally priviledged through all the Empire?*

G. Nobility being a quality acquired by vertuous actions and eminent ſervices which ſome Houſes have performed to the Prince and State, it is impoſſible but that there ſhould be ſome Houſes more Noble and better priviledged than others: And although fortune ſhould have more influence than merit upon the diſpenſing of thoſe qualities, yet the ſame judgement were ſtill to be made; becauſe Soveraigns are ſubject to their paſſions, rewarding more bountifully, and raiſing higher ſome of their ſervants than others. It happens alſo that one Prince hath occaſion to make uſe of his Nobility more often than another; and receiving more conſiderable ſervices from them, he doth alſo recompenſe them with greater and more ſignal benefits.

P. *There is no doubt but merit or favour hath made the difference which is found between thoſe Houſes that hold in Fee of a particular Prince: But I am perſwaded that all the Nobility immediately ſubject to the Empire is equal.*

G.

G. I fear your opinion is not right. Many Houſes of the immediate Gentlemen are deſcended from the firſt Noble perſonages that accompanied *Henry* the Fowler to the War againſt the *Huns*, nay that followed *Charlemagne* to the Conqueſt of *Auſtria*, *Hungary*, and *Saxony*: And many others coming from other places have been admitted into that Body, being Gentlemen acquainted and habituated in thoſe parts: Laſtly, ſome have been priviledged by the Emperours, and by virtue of their Letters are Matriculated amongſt the immediate Gentlemen. Thoſe do all enjoy the ſame priviledges in appearance, but not in reality: For although theſe laſt have right of Seſſion amongſt the other Gentlemen, yet they have it not in the Chapters, out of which the Electors of *Mentz*, *Trier*, and *Cullen* are made; no, nor in thoſe from whence Biſhops and Prelates are taken: Becauſe to have place in thoſe Chapters, it is neceſſary to prove two and thirty Coats of Nobility by Father and Mother, againſt which the moſt ſevere Critick can make no exception; which is impoſſible for newcomers, neither indeed dare they pretend to it, knowing there is ſuch difference between Gentlemen.

P. *Who are thoſe Immediate Gentlemen, or holding immediately of the Emperour?*

G. All within the Circles of *Swaben*, *Franconia*, the *Rhine*, and the Lower *Alſatia*, who are inſcribed in the Matriculation-Roll of the

Nobility, and oblige their Subjects to contribute towards the maintenance of Officers ordained for the preservation of the priviledges, immunities, and franchises of that Body; which being remote from its Head, and exposed to the envy of many for the favours it receives of the Emperours, hath need of a Treasure, prudence, and union to support it self.

P. *I pray, inform me how the Nobility of those Circles make good the close relation of the Head with the Members, and of the Members amongst themselves.*

G. That Nobility is cherished under the special favor and protection of the Emperour, not only for the services they do him (being always forward and ready to advance the Majesty of the Empire, the glory of the Emperour, and the honour of his Crown) but also for the considerable presents they make him when his necessities require. The Emperour on his part doth willingly interpose his care to see that no body oppress his Nobility, because he is glad to have a sure and confident party within those Circles, that acknowledges their liberty to depend upon the preservation of his Majesty. As to what concerns that Nobility in general; the desire of freedom, the common interest, the ambition which they observe in some potent men, and experience which teaches all men that united force is the strongest, demonstrate to the Gentlemen that they are better able to defend themselves all together than single; which holds them

them in unity, and diſpoſes them mutually to lend their hands, their heads, and their purſes to one another.

P. *The Immediate Nobility being thus one Body, doth it choſe a Head to take care of all the Members in general, and of every one in particular?*

G. Thoſe Gentlemen have made among themſelves a kind of Ariſtocratical Commonwealth; and having divided the Circle of *Swaben* into five parts, that of *Franconia* into ſix, and that of the *Rhine* into three, they have appointed unto every part a Head, whom they call Director in *Swaben* and the Lower *Alſatia*, and Captain of the Nobility in *Franconia* and upon the *Rhine*. This Head doth nothing alone, but by the advice of two or three other choſen Gentlemen (who are given him for aids, and counſel) and of one Doctor to help them when there is occaſion to expound the Laws. He decides differences, prevents Law-ſuits, takes up quarrels, and keeps a vigilant eye upon the preſervation of the priviledges and franchiſes of all the Body. Now if any Gentleman in particular be wronged, the Director takes his part, and ſupports him with the forces of all his Quarter; and if he be not ſtrong enough, he calls to his aid all the Nobility of the Circle, nay, of the Three Circles and the Lower *Alſatia*.

P. *You repreſent unto me a Free Nobility, a moſt conſiderable Body whereof the Prin-*

ces ought to make great account: Do me the favour to tell me more particularly which are those Quarters, and who are the Directors of them.

G. The Quarters of *Swaben* are, the *Danube*, the *Hegau*, *Algau*, and the Lake of *Conſtance*, the *Neckar*, the *Schwartzwald* and *Orthenau*, the *Coquet* and *Creſgau*: Whereof the Directors are, of the two firſt, one of *Ow*, and one of *Holtz*; of the three others, one of *Gueminguen*, and two of the Houſe of *Sleim*. The Quarters of *Franconia* are, *Odenwald*, the *Mountains*, *Rhen*, and *Verra*; *Sterguerwald*, *Altemuhl*, and *Baunach*: The Captains of which are, one of *Gueminguen*, one of *Streitberg*, one *Schtitz* of *Marts*, one of *Valpſtal*, one of *Eyb*, and one *Truchſez* of *Vetzhauſen*. The Quarters of the *Rhine* are, the Upper and the Lower *Rhine*, and the *Wetteravia*; Whereof the Captains are, one *Kuben* of *Catzenellebogen*, one of *Ley*, and one of *Karben*, who is alſo Burgrave of *Fridberg*. The Lower *Alſatia* being but of ſmall compaſs, is not caſt into ſeveral parts. All this Nobility is of one and the ſame mind, when there is queſtion of defending themſelves, and all the Gentlemen ſtrive who ſhall contribute moſt to the expenſes that are to be made for that end. Here you are to take notice that the Directors are not always of one and the ſame Family.

P. This Body ſeems to me to be great and formidable: Do you know how many Houſ

or Families it comprehends, and how many Gentlemen it might be able to bring into the field?

G. I do not know, neither perchance do they know it themselves: For although every part hath a Secretary, who by Letter invites all those that are to meet together, when the Director thinks it fit, for the good of the whole Body, or for the particular affairs of the Quarter; yet they conceal their strength and Revenue as much as they can, not desiring that any one should penetrate into the mystery of their Corporation.

P. *I would willingly know, whether the Office of Director be worth any great matter to him that possesses it; and whether none but Gentlemen be admitted into that Body.*

G. The Directors of the Nobility have more honour and pains than profit, by being Heads to so great and generous Bodies; but as honour is preferrable before any other advantage, there be few but are willing to take the pains that comes along with it. But no man is admitted to the enjoyment of the priviledges of the Nobility, nor taken into the protection of it, unless he be noble or ennobled: And stranger Counts and Barons that have no place in the Assemblies of the Empire, take it for an honour to be enrolled in the Matriculation of the Nobility; because all that live within a Princes Territories, are Subject to his Justice, if they be not immediate subjects of the Empire.

P. *Can the Director and his Council enforce Gentlemen to ſubmit to their Judgment?*

G. The Quarters of the Nobility do uſually meet together once a year; and beſides the publick affairs which are debated in thoſe Aſſemblies, they do alſo judge the differences there that happen between the Gentlemen. And when they have judged a thing reaſonable, they entreat the parties to acquieſce therein, and ſo doing to comply with their duty, and prevent Law-ſuits, which nouriſh miſunderſtanding and hatred between thoſe that ſhould love one another, and which might give occaſion to thoſe that look upon the flouriſhing Nobility with an evil eye, to contemn and deſpiſe it. If one of the parties think himſelf wronged, he prayes the Court of the Nobility that they would be pleaſed once more to conſider his right and his reaſons: Wherein they gratifie him, and when that is done, the parties are again entreated to agree; but then if they refuſe to ſubmit to the Judgement, they are permitted one to convent the other before the Imperial Chamber.

P. *If it be ſo, the Directors of thoſe Quarters have not power to oblige the Nobility to the doing of that which they think juſt and reaſonable.*

G. Equals neither ought nor can pretend to any juriſdiction over their equals. Nevertheleſs it is very rare to meet with a Gentleman there, who doth not yield to and acquieſce in the

the Judgement of the Aſſembly, and who had not rather depart from ſome of his right, than ſend or go to *Spire*, where ſuits are ſpun out to a tedious length.

P. *All honeſt men hate going to Law; and the Nobility ſhould leave that plague to quarrelſom and litigious perſons: And indeed I think a true Gentleman had rather talk of war, and be preſent at aſſaults and Battels, than diſcourſe of the Orders and Decrees of a Parliament, and be bound to court and cringe to the Judges to get a favourable ſentence. Tell me ſomething of the advantages which that Nobility hath.*

G. The Franchiſes and priviledges of Gentlemen of the Empire are great, and in ſo great number, that it would require a volume to lay them all down in writing. Thoſe which I value the moſt are, that every well-bred Gentleman may pretend to become Elector or Eccleſiaſtical Prince, if his Religion do not ſtand in his way; for the Electors of *Mentz*, *Trier*, and *Collen*, and the Biſhops of *Bamberg*, *Wirsbourg*, *Spire*, *Wormes*, *Conſtance*, *Augsbourg*, and *Eichſtet*, are ordinarily choſen out of this Body. Every Gentleman is as free upon his own lands as the Chiefeſt Lord in the Empire; no man beſides himſelf can impoſe upon his Subjects; there are many Chapters and Nunneries, and other Church preferments, which cannot fall but into the hands of the Nobility: And, which ſurpaſſes all the reſt,

he that touches one Gentleman, touches them all; and the Emperours are ſtill ready to favour and ſupport them, thereby to gratifie the Prelates, and have them alwayes at their Devotion.

P. *The Mediate Gentlemen, that is, ſuch as do not only depend upon the Emperour; but are alſo under the Juriſdiction of ſome other Prince, have they not right to come into the Chapters ſo lately mentioned?*

G. There are very few or no Canons in the laſt above-named Cathedral Churches, who are not Members of the Free Nobility of the Empire. Other Gentlemen have their advantages, and Churches whereinto they may and ought to be admitted, as *Hildeſheim*, *Paderborne*, *Oſnabrug*, *Munſter*, *&c.* And beſides, they are not obliged to appear in Judgement, unleſs the Judge give them a ſummons in writing; the Judge makes them ſit down while he hears them; they are free from paying Toll; they are not put in priſon for debt; and if they be accuſed of any Crime, they are not to be put to the queſtion or rack; nay, if they be convicted, they cannot be condemned to the Galleys. And ſo in every Countrey Gentlemen have their advantages.

P. *Can they that are Subjects to a particular Prince, appear at Turnaments?*

G. The Ordinances of that exerciſe do admit thereunto all thoſe that can make proof of their Nobility, not excluding any that have lived in the

the fear of God and with reputation in the World. So that any Gentleman may and ought to be received thereunto, who is not debarred or kept off by reaſon of ſome Crime.

P. *Seeing it is neceſſary to make proof of two and thirty Coats of true Nobility, it is certain that new Gentlemen cannot have entrance: But do you think that Patricians of Citics ſhould be permitted to enjoy that honour, and that great Princes ſhould honour thoſe actions with their perſons?*

G. There is no queſtion, but they that begin the Nobility of their Houſes, are excluded from that honour; and that it is allowed to a Patrician of a good and ancient Family to come in, if he renounce all right of Burgerſhip, and promiſe to live Nobly for the time to come. But the unfortunate hurt, which was followed by the death of *Henry* II. King of *France*, ought to ſerve for an example to all Princes, not to expoſe themſelves to that danger.

P. *The misfortune of King* Henry *II. ſhould oblige Great Men to wear their Beaver down, and to look carefully to the ſafety of their perſons, but not to hinder them from coming into the Liſts, when they are able of body, and skilful at that exerciſe; which I think was heretofore in very much uſe and credit in* Germany.

G. Thoſe ſports which the ancient French called *Behours*, were brought into *Germany* by the Emperour *Henry* the Fowler, who coming from

from the war of *Hungary* exceedingly ſatisfied with the Nobility, would oblige them to exerciſe themſelves continually in handling their arms and managing their horſes; to which purpoſe he inſtituted thoſe exerciſes in the year 935. Since that time ſo many of them have been held, that they who have written expreſly of them, do forget ſome of them in their reckoning: The firſt was opened at *Magdebourg* in the foreſaid year 935. After that *Rottembourg*, *Conſtance*, *Mersbourg*, *Brunswick*, *Trier*, *Hall* in *Saxony*, *Augsbourg*, *Gottinguen*, *Collen*, *Nuremberg*, *Wormes* twice, *Wirsbourg* as often, *Ratisbon* four times, *Bamberg* twice, *Stutgard* as often, *Swinfort*, *Ravensbourg*, *Inguelheim*, *Eſlinguen*, *Schafauſen*, *Darmſtadt*, *Hailbrun*, *Landſhut*, *Mentz*, *Heidelberg*, *Anſpach*, and many other places have been honoured with the like Aſſemblies.

P. *Being taught by you, that* Henry I. *was the Introductor of theſe ſports into* Germany, *I would gladly learn who celebrated the reſt.*

G. The Emperour *Henry* the Fowler celebrated the firſt: The three *Otho*'s that ſucceeded him, had other matters to think on: *Conrade* II. and *Henry* III. and IV. celebrated each of them one of thoſe that next followed, and gave licence to the Princes, Cities, and Free Nobility, to appoint and celebrate the like: So almoſt all the Turnaments were opened at the requeſt and charges of particular Princes, the Imperial Cities, and the Nobility.

P. *How*

P. *How comes it to paſs that this Exerciſe is almoſt totally aboliſhed?*

G. Thoſe ſports being not alwayes free from emulation and jealouſie, becauſe every one deſired to make a better appearance there than his fellow, it hapned at the three and twentieth Turnament, which was held at *Darmſtadt* in the year 1403. that the Gentlemen of *Franconia* and thoſe of *Heſſe* drew ſo much blood upon one another, that there remained dead upon the place ſeventeen of the former, and nine of the latter. And yet ſome have been celebrated ſince; but either that jealouſie, or the wars which ſuffer not men to think on ſuch paſtimes, or other cauſes to me unknown, have abſolutely baniſht thoſe Exerciſes; by means whereof the Nobility was powerfully attracted to vertue, and obliged to accompliſh and perfect themſelves in all kind of Chivalry.

P. *I believe that as none but Illuſtrious or Noble perſons entred into thoſe Turnaments, the number alſo of the Knights and Squires was limited.*

G. They confined the number of parties allowed to appear, for fear it might otherwiſe grow too great; and to avoid the confuſion which would ariſe from too many Maſters and Servants: For that cauſe, and in regard every mans charges were born there, beſides that they would admit no new Nobility, no Baſtard, no Uſurer, none guilty of High Treaſon, no Oppreſſor of Widows and Orphans, none born

of

of Parents whereof one was of baſe extraction and ignoble, no Heretick, Murderer, Traytor, no Coward that had run away from the Battel, nor indiſcreet perſon that had given offence to Ladies by word or deed; they did alſo refuſe to admit more than one of the ſame Family at a time. Princes came into the Liſts with four Squires apiece, Counts and Barons with three, a Knight with two, and a Gentleman with one.

P. *It may be thoſe Exerciſes will be ſet up again in their priſtine honour; and in caſe that ſhould come to paſs, I would gladly know what a man ſhould do to be admitted thereunto, and how he ought to behave himſelf being come into the Liſts.*

G. The place and hour for the Turnament being reſolved, they that had a deſire to break a Lance there, came thither at the time appointed, and went to the Preſidents Lodging to have their names written down; which was done in the preſence of three Heralds, to whom the Champion delivered his Helmet and Sword, and after he had been at Confeſſion, he preſented himſelf in the Liſts with one, two, three, or four Squires, according to the quality of the perſons. The horſes of the Combatants were to be without fault or exception, the Capariſons and furniture ſuch as to give no offence, their Saddles without any extraordinary raiſing before or behind, and all equal. After which, they performed all kind of exerciſes on horſe-back;

back; and when the Jouſts were ended, every man repaired to the Preſident of his Nation, to wait for the ſentence of the Judges: And he that had beſt deſerved the Prize, received it, either from the hand of ſome Lady, or from the Prince that gave it.

P. *If the Emperour ſhould ever have a deſire to ſee the skill and ſufficiency of his Nobility in that way, I would endeavour to make one there; and though that ſhould never come to paſs, I will howſoever take pains to make my ſelf a good Horſeman. Now ſince we have diſcourſed enough concerning Turnaments, tell me what you know of the Cities of the Empire.*

G. All the Cities of *Germany* are either free or ſubject, or partly free and partly ſubject: Thoſe of the firſt ſort acknowledge none but the Emperour, are Eſtates of the Empire, and participate in the right of Soveraignty; the ſecond depend upon Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen, give reſpect to their Orders, and obedience to their Juſtice; the laſt are thoſe which having been ſubject, have obtained ſome priviledges from the Emperour, from their Princes, or by their ſwords: And though they be almoſt Free, yet have they neither voice nor place in the Aſſemblies, nor do they quietly enjoy their pretended priviledges. Theſe Cities being rich and potent, make bad uſe of their power, endeavouring to ſhake off the yoke of obedience which they owe to their Maſters, to whom they give very little reſpect,

but

but try their uttermoſt to make themſelves Imperial Cities. Such are *Brunſwick*, *Erfort*, and *Embden*, which have evermore ſome matter or other of diſpute; the firſt with the Duke of *Brunſwick*, the ſecond with the Elector of *Mentz*, and *Embden* with the Princes of *Eaſt-Friſeland*.

P. *I imagine that the Cities belonging to Princes are neither ſo wealthy nor ſo fair as the Imperial.*

G. That rule doth not alwayes hold: There are ſome Imperial Cities to be found of no great conſequence, as *Fridberg*, *Aalen*, *Weiler*, *Gueminde*, *Biberac*, *Dunkelſpiel*, and ſeveral others; on the contrary there are divers Cities ſubject to Princes, ſurpaſſing in beauty, magnificent in buildings, and conſiderable for riches, as *Munchen*, *Ingolſtadt*, *Dreſden*, *Wirsbourg*, *Mentz*, *Magdebourg*, *Bamberg*, *Stutgardt*, and *Lunebourg*; but they have not the ſame right which thoſe leſſer places we laſt mentioned enjoy.

P. *I have often heard ſay, that the Cities of* Germany *are neither ſo ancient, nor of ſo fair ſtructure as in other Countreys.*

G. Many good Antiquaries aſſure us, that the Cities on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Rhine* were built about the time of the Emperour *Henry* I. but thoſe very Authors ſay, that the City of *Trier* is one of the Ancienteſt in *Europe*, and that *Strasbourg*, *Wormes*, and *Spire* flouriſhed before the time of *Julius Cæſar*. As for the beauty

beauty and number of Cities, our *Germany* yields to no Province in *Europe*. The *Italians* who for the moſt part undervalue all that is on the other ſide of the *Alpes* from them, cannot deny us that prerogative; and *John Botero* confeſſes, that for that matter we may give them fifteen and a biſque, uſing theſe words to that purpoſe, *I Thedeſchi avanzano di gran lunga i Romani.* And I am ſure that the Conſtable of *Caſtille*, who to diſgrace the greatneſs and magnificence of *Paris* told *Mareſchald d'Ornano*, that he had left behind him the faireſt Cities in *Chriſtendom*; would have changed his opinion if he had ſeen *Germany*, and been forced to acknowledge in his heart (though according to the Spaniſh vapours he would not have expreſt it with his mouth) that there is nothing in *Spain* equal to *Antwerp*, *Amſterdam*, *Hambourg*, *Collen*, *Nuremberg*, *Strasbourg*, *Erfort*, and *Angsbourg*.

P. *If the Cities of* Germany *excel all others in beauty, then they are inferior to them in nothing; for* Bocalini *eſteems them without compariſon richer than thoſe in other places, when he ſaith that* Laurence de Medicis *going about to weigh them, the balance wherein he had already weighed all the Eſtates of Chriſtendom, broke, not being able to bear ſo great a burthen. But I ſuppoſe the houſes of Great men are not ſo embelliſhed in* Germany *as in Foraign Countreys.*

G. I pray, be of another mind; for when you

you have ſeen all *Europe*, you will confeſs that the Cities and Caſtles where the Princes and Prelates of *Germany* make their reſidence, are ſo ſtately in buildings, ſo delicious in gardens, ſo artificial in Grots, ſo abounding in Fountains, flowers, fruits, and even Orange-trees, that there is nothing comparable to be ſeen elſewhere. The Elector of *Bavaria* is lodged at *Munchen* in the faireſt Palace of *Europe*; the Archbiſhop of *Saltsbourg* hath no reaſon to wiſh for thoſe at *Rome*; the Biſhop of *Bamberg* hath ſeen nothing more recreative than his own Gardens; *Heidelberg* hath one of the proudeſt buildings, *Stutgardt* one of the moſt commodious, *Caſſel* one of the moſt regular, *Wirsbourg* one of the ſtrongeſt, and *Plone* one of the moſt delightful that can be ſeen. *Wolfenbottel* is a true ſeat for a Prince, *Berlin* for a King, *Dreſden* for an Emperour, and *Munchen* for a God on earth. *Weymar*, *Gotta*, *Gottorf*, *Cel*, *Baden*, *Anſpach*, *Dourlach*, and *Echinguen*, are very little inferior to the faireſt in *Europe*.

P. *I am glad to hear that our Countrey hath an advantage of other Provinces in Cities, Caſtles, and Gardens, as well as in civility. Tell me a word of the Free Cities.*

G. I do not think you require a Catalogue of the Imperial Cities: Nevertheleſs if you have ſuch a deſire, you ſhall find them here, of every one whereof I ſhall ſay ſomething in an Alphabetical order. *Aix*, which the Latins call *Aquisgranum*, from the hot and wholeſome

Baths

Baths that *Granus* Brother to the Emperour *Nero* found there, is the place where *De Serres* saith that *Charlemagne* was born, and where all Hiſtorians agree that he lyes buried. Many say, that Heroical perſon made this City the Metropolis of the Empire on this ſide the *Alpes*, and it may be for that reaſon it is ſtyled *the Royal City*. The Golden Bull ordains that the Emperour receive the firſt Crown there; and if he take that honour in another place, they bring the Royal ornaments from thence, with the *Perſian* ſword which Great *Charles* wore by his ſide, and with which the Emperour creates Knights.

P. *I believe the Emperour* Charlemagne *indulged that City ſo much, becauſe it ſtands in a place from whence he might commodiouſly look after the Government of both his Kingdoms*, France, and Germany.

G. I think ſo too. *Argentina*, ſo named from the Silver or money brought thither from all parts, as to the Cuſtom-houſe which the *Romans* ſetled there, is now called *Strasbourg*. This City is very populous, ſtrong, and well built: The Church there is one of the wonders of the world, for the bigneſs thereof, the ſumptuouſneſs of its building, the marvellous height of its Steeples all made with throughlights, and its inimitable ſtructure. There are two and twenty Tribes, which have every one an Eſchevin or Alderman, out of whom they chuſe the Conſul whom they call *Ammeiſter*,

who joyntly with the Aldermen elects Ten Gentlemen of the City to be Senators, and all together make up the Senate. They take four of thoſe Ten Gentlemen to be *Statmeiſters* or Prætors, who at Debates ask the voices, firſt of the Conſul, and then of the other Senators. The Office of the Conſul is annual, and cannot be poſſeſſed by any Gentleman; that of the Aldermen is for two years. The Senate conſiſting of thirteen, and the Council of fifteen, are perpetual. The firſt treats of Confederations and Military affairs, the latter hath power to exhort the Conſul, if he fail in his duty. The Arſenal of this City is provided with ſo great a quantity of all ſorts of Canon, Pikes, Muskets, Halberds, Partiſans, Swords, Bucklers, Piſtols, Head-pieces, Back-and-breſts, Gantlets, Vambraces, and other Arms as well offenſive as defenſive, that there be few of the like to be ſeen any where elſe.

P. *I have read in* Limnæus *that this City hath many priviledges, and that the Nobility had the adminiſtration of it till the year* 1332. *I would willingly know ſomething of* Augſbourg.

G. Augsbourg by abbreviation from *Auguſti Burgum*, that is, the City of *Auguſtus*, was ſo called, becauſe *Auguſtus* ſettled a Roman Colonythere, after *Claudius Druſus Nero Germanicus* had brought it in ſubjection to the Roman Empire. This City was anciently called *Druſomagus*, and afterwards *Auguſta Tiberii*

but now *Augusta Vindelicorum.* It is so well built, that it comes not short of any one in *Europe*; and the Guild or Town-house is a Palace worthy to lodge the Emperour. In the year 1368. the People took the administration of affairs out of the hands of the *Patricians*, which *Charles* V. restored to them again 180. years after.

P. *This City is very famous for its magnificence, and Goldsmiths work; but* Aalen *and* Biberac *are not considerable: Therefore let us see* Collen.

G. As for *Aalen*, you must know it is but a little hole, where there are not above thirty Burgers, which belonged heretofore to the Counts of *Wirtemberg*, and was lost during that War which *Eberhard* the Riotous waged with the Cities of *Swaben.*

Collen is the *Rome* of *Germany*, and the Capital City of the *Vbians:* It is called *Colonia Agrippina*, because *Marcus Agrippa* subdued it to the *Romans*, or because *Agrippina* Daughter to *Germanicus* and Wife to *Claudius*, was born there. That Lady was very lascivious; and it is said that the women of this Town use but little modesty when they are in the Baths. It is an Imperial City, and yet does homage to the Archbishop in these terms; *We Free Burgers of* Collen, *to day for to day, and for the days hereafter promise to N. Archbishop of* Collen *to be faithful and favourable unto him as long as he preserves us in right and honour,*

and in our ancient priviledges, us, our Wives, our Children, and our City of Collen: *So help us God and his Saints.* And the Archbiſhop obliges himſelf to the ſaid City after this manner; *We by the grace of God Archbiſhop of the holy Church of* Collen, *Elector and Arch-Chancellor of the Empire throughout* Italy, *to the end there may be between us and our dear Burgers and the City of* Collen *an amiable confederation, entire confidence, and ſincere peace, and that the ſame may remain inviolable; do make known by theſe preſents, that we have promiſed and aſſured, and do promiſe and aſſure, in good faith and without fraud, that we confirm all the rights and franchiſes, written or unwritten, old or new, within and without the City of* Collen, *which have been granted unto it by Popes, Emperours, Kings, or by Archbiſhops of* Collen, *and will never violate or infringe the ſame: In witneſs whereof we have cauſed the Seal of our Arms to be put unto theſe preſents, the,* &c. Now the Senate makes proceſs in criminal cauſes, and the Elector hath right to condemn or to free offenders.

P. *If you ſay ſo much of all the Imperial Cities it will be long before we make an end. Do me the favour to paſs lightly over the reſt.*

G. Campidunum, which the *Germans* call *Kempten*, was the ordinary reſidence of the ancient Dukes of *Swaben*, and the native place of *Hildegardis* Daughter to *Hildebrand* Duke of *Swaben*, and Wife to *Charlemagne*. *Colmar* is a good City of *Alſatia*, where *Berthe* Mother to *Charle-*

Charlemagne, and *Adelais* his Daughter, have founded many Monaſteries. *Donavert* was a Free City till the year 1607. at which time the Burgers endeavouring to hinder the Catholicks from burying a Corps with the ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, it incurred the Imperial *Ban* or Proſcription, which was executed by the Duke of *Bavaria*, who brought it into ſubjection, and holds it ſtill under his Laws. *Dunkelſpiel* hath been ſo often taken and retaken in the laſt Wars, that it will carry the marks thereof a great while. *Eſſlinguen* is a pretty Town upon the *Neckar*, within the Dutchy and under the protection of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*; to whom it ſends every firſt day of the year a hundred Florins of gold in a green velvet purſe for the honour he doth them in being their Protector.

P. *If I be not miſtaken, this City hath been honoured with the celebration of ſome Turnament.*

G. Not with a Turnament only, but alſo with an Imperial Diet; And produces great ſtore of excellent Wine. *Francfort*, which was anciently called *Teutoburgum* and *Hellenopolis*, ſignifies the paſſage or Ford of the *Franks*, and was ſo termed, becauſe it ſerved them for a retreat, when they went into, and came back from *Gaule*. This City is renowned for its Fairs, for the Article of the Golden Bull which ordains that the King of the *Romans* ſhould be choſen here, for its Fortreſs, and for the river of

Mein, which parts it into two Towns, whereof one retains the old name, and the other is called *Saxhenhauſen.*

P. *You have told me elſewhere, that that clauſe of the Golden Bull is not obſerved, and that many Kings of the* Romans *have been elected in other places.*

G. That is true; but yet the Town is very conſiderable for all that. The Religion profeſſed there is of two ſorts, and the Jews drive a great Trade amongſt them. *Fridberg*, a very ſmall City in *Wetteravia*, had not above 60. Burgers when I paſſed that way; but it hath great priviledges. There is a Caſtle near it, the Lords whereof are called Burgraves. *Guemunde*, which ſeems to ſignifie *Gaudia Mundi*, the joys of the world, in regard of the Turnaments or other paſtimes which the Lords of *Swaben* have heretofore given their friends there, is entirely Catholick, and an Imperial City ſince the death of *Conradine* who was beheaded at *Naples*. *Goſtar*, a City of *Hircynia*, was fortified in the year 1207. The Caſtle is called the Imperial Palace, and the Town the Royal City, becauſe the Kings of *Almaine* were wont to make their aboad there, and ſome Emperours have honoured it with their reſidence. *Guelnehauſen* after the ſame manner as *Fridberg* hath City and Caſtle, and place in the Aſſemblies, though the Electors Palatine uſe their uttermoſt endeavour to bring it under their ſubjection.

P. I

P. *I wonder how theſe petty places are able to maintain their liberty.*

G. They are ſupported by others; and the Emperour would not willingly ſee Princes make themſelves Maſters of them. *Haguenau*, a City of *Alſatia*, is Head of a Bailywick that comprehends the Imperial Cities of *Colmar*, *Seleſtad*, *Weiſſembourg*, *Landau*, *Oberhenheim*, *Roſherim*, *Munſter* in the valley of St. *Gregory*, *Keichersberg*, and *Turgkeim*. This Bailywick was given to the moſt Chriſtian King, with its appurtenances, and the right which the Houſe of *Auſtria* had to it heretofore. This City was very much a favourite to the Emperour *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, who cauſed it to be walled about, after he had built a houſe there for himſelf, and ſix for the principal Gentlemen belonging to his Hunting, which the Lords of *Fleckenſtein*, *Durcheim*, and ſome others do ſtill hold in fee of the Empire.

P. *I think the Lords of* Durcheim *are your kinſmen.*

G. Margaret of *Rottembourg*, a Gentlewoman of a very ancient family in Lower *Alſatia*, was Married to *John Albert* of *Anweil*, of which Marriage came *Anne Margaret* of *Anweil* my wife, by whoſe means I find my ſelf allied to the Houſes of *Anweil*, *Rottembourg*, *Scheling*, *Welward*, *Speſt*, *Durcheim*, *Sturſel*, *Dalbourg*, *Bernehauſen*, *Flekenſtein*, *Stein*, and many others. But this is beſides our purpoſe. *Hambourg*, ſituate upon the *Elbe*, where the

reflux of the Sea makes a good Port, is one of the richeſt Cities in *Germany*, the greateſt in *Vandalia*, and the beſt fortified in *Europe*. It doth ordinarily maintain a thouſand Souldiers; and for a time of neceſſity it hath 15000. Burgers liſted in fifty Companies. Trade is exceeding quick there, by reaſon of the river which joyns it to the Sea, and a multitude of *Portugueſe* Jews who have liberty of conſcience there. This City hath been ſubject to ſeveral Lords, but at laſt it is become free, notwithſtanding all that the Duke of *Holſtein* could do, or the King of *Denmark*, who hath built *Glugſtadt*, and a Fort in the river to annoy and incommodate the City of *Hambourg*.

P. *The neighbourhood of the* Swedes *may entrench much upon their liberty.*

G. The Crown of *Sweden* hath the poſſeſſion of *Stade*, near the river of *Elbe*; and the King of *Denmark* hath *Glugſtadt* on the other ſide of the ſame river: So that if thoſe two Kings ſhould conſpire to ruine *Hambourg*, it would be in great danger; but it is ſheltered under the jealouſie that is between thoſe two Crowns. Although this City be indeed ſo prodigiouſly rich, that if the Kings ſhould agree together, it is probable the Senate would be able to guard themſelves, and preſerve their liberty, by the expenſe of their Treaſure. And queſtionleſs if *Hambourg* make good uſe of its own ſtrength, and the friendſhip of thoſe that are concerned for its preſervation, it hath no cauſe

cauſe to fear: For the King of *Denmark* and the Duke of *Holſtein* apprehending the *Swedes*, will be always glad to fortifie themſelves by the good affection and forces of *Hambourg* and *Lubeck*, which are as ſo many Bulwarks to their States.

P. *Is* Lubeck *alſo in the entrance of the* Cimbrick Cherſoneſe?

G. Theſe Cities are not far diſtant from one another: They have the ſame intereſt; and are powerful, *Hambourg* upon the Ocean, and *Lubeck* upon the Balthick Sea, in the entrance of the *Cimbrick Cherſoneſe*, which contains the Dutchies of *Holſtein*, *Schleſwick*, *Stormar*, and *Dithmarſh*, with the Countrey of *Jutland*. The City of *Lubeck* was built by *Adolph* Count of *Holſtein* in the time of the Emperour *Conrade* III. and a little after, it was taken by *Henry Leo* Duke of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, who founded a Biſhoprick there, as I have read over the Gates of the Caſtle of *Eutin*, the place where the Biſhop reſides. After the death of that *Henry*, it returned to its firſt Maſter, and paſſed from him into the power of *Canute* King of *Denmark*; but the *Danes* being overcome in the time of the Emperour *Frederick* II. it became an Imperial City, and enjoys that priviledge to this day. When it began, it was of no great conſequence; but now it is large, fair, and potent by land, and by water too, the river *Drave* encreaſing its Trade, and giving it opportunity to put great ſtore of ſhipping to Sea.

P. *If*

P. *If the King of* Denmark *had the command of theſe two Cities, it would enable him to attempt upon his Neighbours: For I have heard ſay, that* Hambourg *hath a vaſt Revenue, and that theſe two Cities can ſet out above* 200. *Ships.*

G. No man hath every thing that he deſires; and few Countreys have all that they ſtand in need of; one wants Corn, another Wine, a third Salt, or ſomething elſe. But now we ſpeak of Salt, *Hall* in *Swaben* hath three Salt-pits where they make a great quantity. *Haïlbrun* is an Imperial City, and yet pays the Tenth of its Wine and Grain to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*. *Kaufbegeren* was ſo called, becauſe it bought its liberty for 15000. Livres of the Emperor *Conrade* II. *Landau*, ſeated near the mountain *Vogeſus* on the French ſide of the *Rhine*, was mortgaged by the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and afterwards redeemed and enfranchiſed by *Maximilian* I. *Lindau* was heretofore a Convent, then a Village, and at laſt a City, ſubject at firſt to the Lady *Abbeſſe*, afterwards to the Duke of *Swaben*, and finally to the Emperour, who hath given it the priviledge of coyning money. This City ſtands upon an Iſland in the Lake of *Conſtance*, and is joyned to the firm-land by a bridge 290. paces long.

P. *This place is exceeding ſtrong, being ſo remote from land.*

G. I believe it is; and indeed the *Swedes* hovered

hovered thereabout in vain, watching to have ſurpriſed it. *Meminguen* is very ancient, and at this time well known for the Almanacks of *Schoret*. *Mulhauſen* is abundant in Gardinage and Mills; become famous alſo for the folly of *Thomas Muncerus*, who preached there, exciting the Countrey people to rebellion, which occaſioned the ruine of many: For that Impoſtor, holding forth that all things ought to be common, had drawn an infinite number of people from their labour and husbandry.

P. *I have obſerved in* Sleidan, *that many falſe Prophets aroſe about the time that Doctor* Luther *undertook the Reformation of the Church, and that this* Muncerus *was one of the moſt ſeditious.*

G. His folly coſt him his head, with the lives of *Pfeifer* his companion, and a great many poor wretches more. But let us continue to reckon up the Cities; amongſt which you may take notice, that *Nuremberg* is one of the faireſt, moſt priviledged, richeſt, and beſt governed in *Europe*. The *Patricians* are the chiefeſt men there, and of 42. perſons of whom the Senate is compoſed, there are but eight taken out of the *Plebeians*. The new choſen Emperour ought to hold his firſt Diet there. This City keeps many of the ornaments uſed at the Coronation of the Emperours, and there is to be ſeen the Royal Crown, about which there is a Mitre enriched with numberleſs Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds and Pearls; and on the forepart there-

of

of a Croſs of Diamonds of very great value; the Dalmatick Gown of *Charlemagne* embroidered with huge Pearls; the Imperial Cloak ſet all over with Eagles embroidered, the border whereof is full of great Emeralds, Diamonds, Sapphires, and Chryſolites; the Buskins covered with plates of Gold; the Gloves embroidered with precious ſtones; the Ball, Golden Sceptre, and Sword which the Electors bear in Ceremony. But there is evermore ſome jealouſie between the Marquiſſes of *Brandenbourg* and this City; the Burgers whereof have the power to impriſon their Children, and to caſt them alive into the river.

P. *That is a ſtrange priviledge indeed, and which ought to keep Children in the reſpect they owe their parents.*

G. Nortlinguen is neither ſo big, nor ſo wealthy, but it is peopled with inhabitants perfectly martial, and its name is known every where, becauſe of the Battel which the *Swedes* loſt there *September* 6. 1634. *Northauſen* hath often had Imperial Aſſemblies held in it, and *Henry* Landgrave of *Thuringia* kept a Turnament there. *Ratisbon*, which the Latines anciently called *Auguſta Tiberia*, is famous for having as many Churches as there are days in a year, and five Eſtates of the Empire within her walls; but more, becauſe Diets are often held there, and becauſe while the Empire was aſſembled there, General *Bannier* went thither to make a Bravado in the year 1632.

P. *It*

P. *It was an act of great confidence, but he got very little by it.*

G. Generals do ſome actions now and then that ſhow more gallantry than judgement, and ſometimes they meet with a bound and check to their victories before a weak place. In the year 1643. the French loſt before *Rotwil Mareſchal Guebriant*, whoſe perſon was more worth to *France* than the taking of twenty ſuch Towns. It is the ſeat of a Preſidial Court; and ſerved for a retreat to the *Cimbri*, after they had been beaten by the *Romans*. *Reutlinguen* is not great, but exceedingly priviledged: It received *Luthers* Reformation from the time he began to preach; and as *Eſlinguen*, it is under the protection of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*. *Rottembourg* upon the *Tauber* was put into the number of Imperial Cities after the Reign of *Frederick* I. *Seleſtadt* is one of the Cities within the Bailywick of *Haguenau*. *Schweinfort* is a fair and ſtrong City, and was in the hands of the *Swedes* when the Peace was made in the year 1648.

P. *Methinks you forget* Spire.

G. I do not forget it, but leave it out in this place, becauſe we ſhall ſpeak of it when we come to treat of the Juſtice of the Empire. *Uberlinguen* was honoured with the reſidence of the Dukes of *Swaben*, and is ſituate upon the Lake of *Conſtance*. *Ulme* belonged formerly to the Abbey of *Reichenau*, of which it bought its liberty: It is a ſtrong and rich City. *Vanguin*

is

is a ſmall Town of *Swaben*, where there grows excellent red Wine. *Weiſſembourg* received great priviledges from *Dagobert* King of *France*. *Vecler* is a little hole rather than a City, the inhabitants whereof are good Souldiers, and the only Catholicks in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*. *Veinſhein* was founded by *Vindegaſt* General to *Pharamond* King of *France A. D.* 425. *Worms* was deſtroyed by *Attila*, and re-edified by *Clovis* King of *France*. And *Winſelan*, ſignifying as much as the German word *Wiebſpriz*, becauſe there the *Huns* committed unheard of cruelties upon that Sex, ſtands within the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg* upon the *Neckar*; where *April* 17. 1622. fortune triumphed over valour, and *Magnus* Duke of *Wirtemberg* died in the Battel; wherein alſo *George Frederick* Marquiſs of *Dourlach* taught us by his defeat, that forces and reſolution are not ſufficient to gain the victory, if God do not give a bleſſing to them.

P. *Will you not tell me whether there be any difference between the Cities you now mentioned, and the Hanſe-towns?*

G. *Bodin* writes, that the Hanſeatick Cities are Imperial, but the greateſt part of them are not ſo. Thoſe Cities are 64. 80. or 83. which for the good of Trade entred into a Confederation in the time of the Emperour *Frederick* II. and ſetled one *Staple* at *London* in the year 1250. another at *Bruges*, which a little afterwards was transferred to *Antwerp*, *A. D.* 1262.

The

The third was eſtabliſhed at *Novograd* a rich City in *Ruſſia*, then at *Revil* in *Livonia*, and laſtly at *Nerva*; and the fourth at *Berg* in *Norway*. Heretofore the Confederates met once a year at *Lubeck*, to take their meaſures and reſolve their affairs there; but now that Confederation is of little uſe to the advancement of Trade, ſince every City doth their own buſineſs apart.

The end of the Eighth Dialogue.

DIALOGUE IX.

Of the Univerſities, the Juſtice, and the Diets of the Empire.

P. *LEarning being one of the principal ornaments of man, and one of the pillars of the Commonwealth, I beſeech you tell me whether it be eſteemed in* Germany *as it was heretofore in* Greece *and* Italy.

G. There were never ſo many learned men in the world as at this time; and there is never a Countrey in *Europe* where there are more, nor more famous Univerſities than we have in *Germany*.

Germany. All Princes have founded ſome, and ſtrive who ſhould maintain them the beſt; becauſe they know them to be the Univerſal remedies againſt an infinite number of evils which ignorance and idleneſs bring into the World. They are not ſo ancient in this Countrey as in *England*, *France*, and *Italy*; but they are more magnificent, better ordered, and fitted with Doctors, and furniſhed with Scholars. We read that *Charles* IV. Emperour, and King of *Bohemia*, having founded the Univerſity of *Prague*, gave equal priviledges to the *Bohemians*, *Polanders*, and *Germans*; and when he would retrench his favours towards ſtrangers, there went out of the Town in a weeks time 24000. Scholars, and a little after 16000. more: Whereby you may judge, that there were more Scholars in *Prague*, than other perſons in ſome great City.

P. *If I did not know that you flatter no body, but love truth above all things, I ſhould hardly believe there were ever ſo many Scholars in* Germany, *as you ſay there went out of* Prague.

G. The laſt War hath ſo drained our Empire of men and money, that I do not believe all *Germany* maintains ſo many Students at this time, as there were at *Prague* in the year 1409. when they reckoned 44000. Scholars under the Rectorſhip of *John Hus*. Neither would it be thought ſtrange that a War of 30. years, during which time the Muſes durſt not appear any where, ſhould have exhauſted the Empire both

of

of Maſters and Scholars: Yet the Chairs of 32. Univerſities reſound every day with the moſt ſacred notions of Divinity, the moſt equitable of Civil Law, the moſt ſalubrious of Phyſick, the moſt ſublime of Metaphyſicks, the moſt ſolid of Natural Philoſophy, the moſt recreative of Mathematicks, the moſt prudential of Politicks, the moſt ſubtile of Logick, the moſt perſwaſive of Rhetorick, and the moſt pleaſing of Poetry.

P. *Is it poſſible there ſhould be ſo many Univerſities in* Germany?

G. There are no leſs: For Princes ſeeing that riches had infected the Cloyſters with lazineſs, and that the Sciences which heretofore ſeemed to be wholly confined within them, were baniſhed from them; being deſirous to preſerve that Treaſure which doth marvelouſly contribute to the glory of God, the honour of the Prince, and the peace of the Provinces, they founded ſo many of them, that *Juſtus Lipſius* ſaith, there are more Univerſities in *Germany* than in all Chriſtendom beſide.

P. *You believe that Learning is uſeful to keep the people in quiet; and many men think, that the Study of Divinity hath occaſioned the growth of Hereſies, as that of the Law hath produced multitudes of Controverſies and Suits which were unknown in the time of our Anceſtors, and that of Phyſick ſerves but to ſhorten our lives.*

G. As an evil ſtomach turns the beſt food

into putrefaction, so a corrupt soul changes vertue into vice and light into darkness. Divinity is a sacred Science, which fights with and overcomes Heresies; the Civil Law is the rule of Right, which maintains Justice, and banishes quarrels from amongst men; and Physick teaches the virtues of Minerals and Vegetables, whereby the sound may preserve the health they enjoy, and the sick recover that which they have lost. If then Divines breed Heresies, Lawyers processes, and Physicians diseases, it is not the fault of the Profession, but of the Professors, who abusing their knowledge do convert the goodness thereof into evil.

P. *You will confess, there were fewer Heresies, Law-suits, and diseases, when there were not so many Universities in* Europe.

G. The World growing old, becomes so much worse and worse, that if the Ancients should live again, they would be astonished to see the corruption of our age. The Heresies and suits in Law which you see, are the fruits of humane malice; and diseases are the effects of Navigations and avarice, which have made men despise and hazard their lives to find out Sugar, Pepper, Cloves, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, and other Spices that were unknown to the ancients; who through that ignorance lived more piously, more healthfully, and longer than we do. Ascribe then (if you please) the Original of Heresies, Law-suits, and diseases to mans covetousness which hath discovered

the

the *Indies*, and not to Univerſities, which oppoſe them, and had deſtroyed them too, if impiety, gluttony, and drunkenneſs did not entertain and keep them amongſt us.

P. *I ſuppoſe you count the Univerſities of the Low Countreys among thoſe of* Germany, *otherwiſe there would not be ſo many; and yet the* Germans *make ſcruple to acknowledge them for Doctors who have taken their degree at* Leyden, Franeker, Groninguen, *and* Utrecht.

G. The Low Countreys being part of *Germany*, it is reaſonable that I rank their Univerſities among thoſe of the Empire; and I think they have good title to that honour, becauſe that of *Doway* was founded by *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, *A. D.* 1562. that of *Leyden* was inſtituted by the States of *Holland* and by *William* Prince of *Orange*, 1575. That of *Franeker* was eſtabliſhed by the States of *Friſeland*, 1581. That of *Groninguen*, 1614. and laſtly that of *Utrecht*, 1636. As for the firſt, there is no doubt but a King of *Spain* hath right to found Univerſities; and the others having been founded in a time when the Soveraignty of the States was ſtill under diſpute, ſome queſtion might juſtly be made whether they had power to give thoſe priviledges which accompany the honour of Doctorſhip: But now that all *Europe* acknowledges them for Soveraigns, no man can make any more queſtion of it. And indeed the States General have ſo great care to procure eminent Profeſſors for their Univerſi-

ties, that Youth cannot but learn all kind of vertues there, and ought to repair thither, though they could not receive the Doctoral Cap in those places.

P. *The Universities of* Swisserland, *of* Marpurg, Altorf, *and* Strasbourg, *are of no greater antiquity than those of the Low Countreys: But because those men that administer Justice are commonly taken out of the Universities, I think it not amiss that you tell me something of that in the Empire.*

G. All the Universities in the Low Countreys are not so new. That of *Lovain* began in the year 926. afterwards *John* Duke of *Brabant* bestowed great priviledges upon it; then it was confirmed by Pope *Martin* V. and at this time in the judgement of *John Becanus* there are none in *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy* that are so magnificent, and send forth so many excellent personages. As to your question, I shall tell you, that in the Empire every Prince, Count, and Lord hath within his own Lands High, Middle, and Low Justice, which in some Principalities passes a definitive sentence without Appeal, and in others unto a certain sum above which they may appeal to the Imperial Chamber.

P. *I know that every Lord administers Justice to his own subjects within his Territories; but I would learn of you, where addresses were made heretofore, and where they are made now, to obtain right against Illustrious per-*

sons

ſons, as well touching Eccleſiaſtical as Secular affairs.

G. In the time of *Charlemagne* and ſome of his Succeſſors, the Biſhops and Officers of the Crown, joyntly with the Emperour, decided all Eccleſiaſtical cauſes: The Prelates, Counts, and other perſons of quality were convented at the firſt inſtance before the Imperial Court; the Secular Princes could not be judged but in the Diets where the Emperour preſides. If there were any complaints to be made againſt the adminiſtrations of the Emperours, it was done in the ſame Aſſemblies; and when the matter deſerved it, they might depoſe them, but only with the general conſent of all thoſe that had right to ſit there. So it happened to *Lewis* the *Debonaire* in the year 838. to *Charles* the Groſs, 887. and ſome ages after, to *Henry* IV. *Otho* IV. and *Frederick* II.

P. *I remember you have ſaid ſomewhere elſe, that the Electors only have the right of chuſing and depoſing the Emperours.*

G. Things here below do never continue in the ſame ſtate; and the Electors being arrived to a very great power, aſſumed to themſelves alone the authority of Electing and depoſing the Emperours, though in the beginning it were not ſo. But all dignities run in the ſame ſtrain: Popes heretofore acknowledged they held their greatneſs of the liberality of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*; yet a little after the death of the latter they lifted up their horns; *Gregory* IV. would

have excommunicated *Lewis* the *Debonaire*; *Nicholas* I. would have done as much to the Emperour *Lotharius*, and *Adrian* to *Charles* the Bald; and they had done it, if they had not found the Clergy and People reſolved to oppoſe their unjuſt proceedings. But in proceſs of time *Gregory* VII. ſurpaſſed all his Predeceſſors in reſolution, and finding a good game put into his hands by the ill will of the Emperours Subjects towards their Soveraign, he excommunicated *Henry* IV. and afterwards by the ſame preſumption *Henry* V. *Frederick* I. *Philip*, *Frederick* II. and *Lewis* V. were excommunicated by the Popes.

P. *We have ſeen elſewhere, that the Counts adminiſtred Juſtice to the People within the Provinces, and that appeals might be made from their ſentence to the Count Palatine: So that I have nothing more to enquire after, but when and why the Parliament of the Empire became fixt and ſedentary, how many Judges there be, and of what matters they take cognizance.*

G. Law-ſuits growing numerous in proportion to the malice of men, the Court of the Empire was alwayes full of Clients: For which cauſe *Maximilian* I. having compaſſion on them, and deſiring to ſpare both their labour and money, ſettled a ſedentary Parliament at *Worms* or at *Francfort* in the year 1495. which was ſoon after removed to *Spire*, and cannot be withdrawn from thence but by the conſent of all the Eſtates, except in time of Plague or War.

War. The Aſſeſſors were but 16. at the firſt, but the number of them hath been encreaſed to 50. who are nominated by the Head and the principal Members of the Empire. The Emperour names the Judge and four of the principal Officers. The Judge ought to be a Prince or Count, and well skilled in the Civil and Municipal Laws. Every Elector names one Aſſeſſor, and all the reſt are preferred to that employment by the Circles. All theſe perſonages ought to be Gentlemen or Doctors; and as they that name them are Catholicks or Proteſtants, ſo are the Aſſeſſors of different Religions, and judge of all caſes that are in the power of the Emperour.

P. *Doth all the Empire make application to this Parliament for juſtice?*

G. All appeals go thither; but at the firſt inſtance none go but priviledged perſons, and they too as ſeldom as they can, the greateſt part taking Arbitrators to determine their differences, for as much as juſtice is ſo very ſlowly adminiſtred there, as well becauſe there is no other place of Judicature in all the Empire but this Parliament and that of the Imperial Court, as alſo becauſe there is ſuch an infinite number of old ſuits to diſpatch.

P. *I find in Hiſtory, that many Controverſies of great importance, wherein Princes were the parties, have been judged by the Emperours, without taking the advice of that Parliament, nay, without ſummoning the parties to the Diets.*

G. The firſt of a Family that gets upon the Throne, cannot have ſo little authority, but he eſteems it great; and when Princes of the ſame Houſe bear the Scepter for a long time together, the greateſt authority ſeems but little to them. From hence it comes to paſs that the preſent Emperours do no more take or expect the conſent of the Eſtates when they have a mind to act or determine againſt the Princes. *Charles* V. did alone proſcribe and by his own authority condemn *John Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip* Landgrave of *Heſſe*. The ſame Emperour did alone decide the controverſie between the ſame Landgrave and the Coum of *Naſſau*. *Rodolph* II. took upon himſelf alone the cognizance of the difference that happened betwixt the Pretenders to the Dutchies of *Juliers*, *Cleve*, and *Berg*. *Matthias* rejected the claim and requeſt of the Landgrave *Maurice*, who at the Diet of *Ratisbon* in the year 1613. prayed his Majeſty to allow him Princes for his Judges in the cauſe between him and the Landgrave *Lewis* his Couſin. And *Ferdinand* II. did alone decide the buſineſs between *George Frederick* Marquiſs of *Baden*, and the Heirs of *Edward Fortunatus*. So that matters of great weight are no more decided either at *Spire*; or in the Imperial Diets; but of right they ought to be decided there.

P. *Let us ſee, if you pleaſe, to what Juſtice Church-men are ſubject.*

G. Their Principalities are ſubject to the Juſtice

ſtice of the Emperours, and their perſons and Dignities did heretofore acknowledge none but the Pope, but now it is otherwiſe: For although ſince the time of *Frederick* II. till the laſt age no Emperour durſt undertake to depoſe a Biſhop, and many Popes have attempted it, and brought it to paſs with eaſe; yet *Charles* V. and his Succeſſors ſeem to have reſumed their power. When that incomparable Prince had proſcribed *John* Biſhop of *Hildeſheim*, the Pope *Paul* III. expreſt his diſpleaſure by proteſting againſt it; but it was anſwered, that it belonged neither to him nor the See of *Rome*, to judge of the validity or invalidity of the Imperial Edict or Proclamation called the *Ban*, and that the Emperour did not care a ſtraw for the ſentence which the Pope had given for the re-eſtabliſhment of the foreſaid Biſhop. The ſame Emperour depoſed *Herman* Count of *Weida* Archbiſhop of *Collen* in the year 1545. without having the Popes conſent for ſo doing. And *Ferdinand* II. cauſed Cardinal *Cleſel* and the Elector of *Trier* to be arreſted, without any fear of incurring the Excommunication wherewith the Bull *De Cœna Domini* threatens thoſe that dare attempt ſuch things.

P. *I am very glad that the Emperours recover their authority; but what Juſtice do the Monks and inferiour Prieſts obey?*

G. The goods of Prieſts ought to contribute ſomething to the neceſſities of the Empire. The perſons of Monks are immediately ſubject to

their

their Priors or Guardians, they to the Provincials, the Provincials to the General of the Order, and he to the Pope. The Secular Prieſts are all under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, except the Proteſtants, whoſe perſons are ſubject to the Conſiſtory of their Princes, and their goods to the ſame Juſtice as the Seculars.

P. *Though you have often made mention of the Aſſemblies of the Empire, I could not meet with an opportunity till now to deſire a ſummary account and information thereof; which I pray you therefore to give me now.*

G. All well-governed States have their Aſſemblies, wherein they reſolve matters of importance. The old *Romans* called theirs *Comitia*; and becauſe ſuffrages were given there by *Tribes* or Wards, *Curiæ* or Pariſhes, and Centuries, they added to the general word *Tributa*, *Curiata*, *Centuriata*, according as voices were given there. In *Germany* they have general and particular Aſſemblies: The latter are of four kinds; ſome whereof are the *Aſſemblies of the Electors*, others are thoſe of *Deputation*, the third are thoſe *of the Viſitations of the Chamber*, and the laſt are the particular *Aſſemblies of the Circles.*

P. *Enlarge your diſcourſe more upon the particular Aſſemblies, before we paſs to the general.*

G. When the Electors meet together to chuſe a King of the *Romans*, their Aſſembly is called *The day of Election*, and then the King of

of *Bohemia* is not preſent there: And when they meet upon other affairs, that King is not called then neither, though it be ſo ordained by the Golden Bull; becauſe the Electors ſeeing that the Emperour for the moſt part had the Crown of *Bohemia* in his poſſeſſion, they thought it fit to exclude him from thoſe meetings, and have done ſo by the Capitulations drawn up and made with the late Emperours. Theſe Aſſemblies are called *Churfurſen Tag*, that is Days of the Electors. The Aſſemblies of *Deputation* are held at *Francfort*, to diſpatch that which could not be reſolved in the Diets. The third kind of Aſſembly is for nothing but to viſit the Chamber of *Spire*, that all things may be kept there in good order. The Aſſemblies of the *Circles* are made after three manner of ways: 1. When the Directors of all the Circles make a general Congregation, 2. When ſeveral Circles appoint a day and place for a meeting, and 3. when the Members of one Circle come together to reſolve matters of concernment to the whole Body; for example, the value or other conſiderations of their Coyn, the Contributions which the Circle is obliged to pay, the Aſſeſſors which it is to preſent to the Chamber of *Spire*, the means to preſerve peace, and enforce them that refuſe to obey their Ordinances.

P. *Do me the favour to inform me of the* Diets, *as you have done of the other Aſſemblies; and inſtruct me, who, how, when, and where they*

they are convocated, what perſons are called thither, after what manner they ſit there, how they give their voices, and laſtly how they come to reſolutions in buſineſs.

G. The Emperour only can appoint Diets, and that by conſent of the Electors, without which the concluſions there taken are null and void, foraſmuch as that conſent is the eſſential form that gives life and vigour to all that is concluded there. And the Emperours have obliged themſelves to ask it, by the obſervation which they promiſe to the Capitulations offered to every Emperour ſince *Maximilian* I. The cauſes for which the Emperour may convocate theſe Aſſemblies are, the neceſſity, the good, and the ſafety of the Empire. Now the Emperour, when he hath obtained the conſent of the Electors, doth not aſſemble the Diet by a general Ordinance, but by Letters which his Majeſty directs in particular to every one of them that are obliged to be preſent there. In theſe Letters, wherein is ſpecified the place, and the occaſion of calling the Aſſembly together, his Majeſty doth not uſe the way of Command, but of exhortation and entreaty, although his Predeceſſors have made uſe of theſe terms, *Gebiſen, heiſſen, befeſlen*, which ſignifie to command and enjoyn. The time of continuance is not prefixt but by the neceſſity of affairs; and it is alwayes lawful and juſt to call them when need requires.

P. *Seeing the conſent of the Electors is neceſſary*

ſay to the convocation of general Aſſemblies, the Emperour cannot appoint them alone: But in what place ought they to meet?

G. As to the place where the Diets ought to be held, it is to be noted, that according to *Goldaſt*, *Conſtantine* II. ordained that they ſhould be held every year and perpetually at *Arles*; *Charlemagne* having tranſlated the Empire into *France* or *Germany*, would have them at *Mentz*; and *Frederick* II. preferred *Francfort* upon the *Meyn* before that place. The Golden Bull decrees, that the firſt Diet after the Election of the Emperour ſhall be held at *Nuremberg*; that none ſhall ever be called without the bounds of *Germany*, and that it be alwayes in a convenient place. The Capitulation of *Charles* V. explains and limits that conveniency, ſaying it ought not to be either higher than *Augsbourg*, or lower than *Collen*. And that being obſerved, all other circumſtances are left to the Emperour, who uſually pitches upon an Imperial City, where he may be commodiouſly received and entertained.

P. *That Article was inſerted into the Capitulation with* Charles *V. becauſe he had many Principalities out of the Empire, and they were affraid he might have a mind to convocate the Diets in ſome place out of* Germany. *It ſeems juſt however that a place be choſen where thoſe that are called thither may not be very ill accommodated. But who are the perſons that are called to the Aſſemblies?*

G. All

G. All the Estates of the Empire whom we have formerly mentioned are by the Emperour called to the Diets. It is only to be observed, that he calls the Ecclesiastical Princes thither after they are once elected, though before they have their Bulls from the Pope; that in place of Princes under age, he calls their Guardians who administer their Estates; and that Princes actually Governing are called thither, though they have not yet received Investiture for what they hold in Fee of the Empire. You shall further observe, that in places where the right of Primogeniture prevails, as in *Austria*, *Bavaria*, *Lorraine*, *Brunswick*, *Holstein*, *Hesse*, *Wirtemberg*, *Baden*, and *Montbeliard*, the Emperour calls none but those that are in possession of the Government; and in places where the Principalities are divided into equal shares, he calls all that have priviledge to sit in Diets, as for example, the Dukes of *Weimar*, *Altembourg*, and *Gotta*, who have all voices for their particular Principalities: But if all the divided Estates of Princes have but one voice, as the Principality of *Anhalt*, all the Lords together appoint one Deputy. The Emperour doth also call thither some persons that have not right of Session; as Count *Papenheim*, who is alwayes present there to execute the Office of Vice-Marshal: And *Charles* V. caused Doctor *Luther* to be at the Diet of *Wormes* in the year 1521. And *Rodolph* II. called the Assessors of *Spire* to that of *Ratisbon*, to give an account of

of their Judgements and Decrees in the year 1608.

P. *What is the Office of Marſhal* Papenheim *at the Diets?*

G. The Office of Vice-Marſhal is, 1. To chuſe Lodgings, mark them, and ſet them out for the Princes the moſt commodiouſly that poſſibly may be; 2. To take care that all things neceſſary for the Aſſembly be brought thither, and diſtributed at a juſt price, weight, and meaſure; 3. To ſurvey the Hall or Room where the Aſſembly is to be held, and to ſee it be adorned and fitted ſuitable to the Dignity of the perſons that are to aſſiſt there; 4. To have a ſpecial eye and regard to the publick ſafety; 5. To ſignifie unto the Princes and other Eſtates the day and hour when they are to be preſent at the propounding of affairs, and at debates and conſultations, where he alſo gathers the voices; and laſtly, he hath Juriſdiction over ſtrangers that come to that place to ſell and retail any commodity; and the Women of pleaſure that come thither, are obliged to preſent themſelves before him to have their names regiſtred.

P. *As far as I perceive,* Count Papenheims *Office bears a great reſemblance with that of Grand Provoſt of the Houſehold to the King of* France: *But are all the Eſtates of the Empire obliged to appear in theſe Aſſemblies?*

G. The Juriſdiction of the Grand Provoſt of the King of *France* his Houſehold extends five

five Leagues compass about the place where the King resides; he puts a price upon all that is sold for the use and entertainment of the Court; and in that, as in many other things, he equals or exceeds the authority of *Papenheim*: But that wherein he surpasses him indeed is, that it brings him in 20000. Crowns yearly. As to your question, you must know that all the Princes of the House of *Austria*, and the Duke of *Lorraine*, are called to the Diets, yet go not but when they please.

P. *Are all the other Estates to assist therein person?*

G. All other Lords and Estates, as well Ecclesiastical as Secular, having right of Session, ought to go thither in person, unless they be excused by age, sickness, or other such impediments; in which case they are permitted to send their Ambassadors. Now when I say All, I do not in that generality comprehend the Abbesses, who cannot appear with decency to their Sex; nor the Cities, which cannot be transported: It is sufficient then for the Abbesses and the Cities to send their Deputies to the Diets. The Estates that go thither in person present themselves to the Emperour when he is present, and to his Commissioners when he is absent; and they acquaint the Chancellor of *Mentz* and the Vice-Marshal with their arrival, that they may receive advertisement of the day and hour when the Council is to be held. The Ambassadors and the Deputies do not present

ſent themſelves to the Emperour, but to the Elector of *Mentz*, into whoſe hands they put the Commiſſion or Power by which they are authorized to come.

P. *I am ſufficiently informed touching the perſons that ought to appear at the Diets: Oblige me now to tell me the Order that is obſerved there.*

G. The Emperour uſually goes thither firſt, to the end it may be taken notice of that all other Princes repair to him: On the day appointed for opening the Diet, the Electors, Princes, and Ambaſſadors come to the Emperors Lodging; and when the Emperour comes forth to go to the place where the Aſſembly is to be held, all the Ambaſſadours of abſent perſons march before in good order, two and two, or three and three; after the Princes the Elector of *Trier* walks alone, and directly after him the Elector of *Saxony* carrying the Sword naked, with the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Brandenbourg* at each ſide, the firſt bearing the Imperial Ball, and the other the Golden Sceptre. Thoſe Electors are immediately followed by the Emperour, who hath on his right hand the Elector of *Mentz*, and on his left him of *Collen*. After the Emperour the King of *Bohemia* goes alone, and after him the Empreſs when ſhe is in place; and her Majeſty is followed by all the Eccleſiaſtical Princes, who obſerve the ſame Order that the Seculars did.

P. *I believe it is a very fine ſight: But when*

they are come to the room which Count Papenheim *hath cauſed to be furniſhed as richly as can be, how do they ſit?*

G. Being entred thereinto, the Emperour ſeats himſelf on a Throne raiſed upon a Scaffold covered with rich Tapeſtry: The Electors ſit a degree lower in this Order; the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, followed by him of *Collen*, and he by the Duke of *Bavaria*, take place on the right hand; the King of *Bohemia*, when he is preſent (which happens very ſeldom) the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, and the Count *Palatine*, ſit on the left; and the Elector of *Trier* directly over againſt the Emperour. Some ſay, that when there is a King of the *Romans*, the Elector of *Trier* ſits where I ſaid the King of *Bohemia* was to take his place, and the King of the *Romans* in that place which the Golden Bull aſſigned to the Elector of *Trier*. Others would have the Elector of *Mentz*, King of *Bohemia*, and Count Palatine, to ſit on the right hand; thoſe of *Collen*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenbourg* on the left; and he of *Trier* right oppoſite to the Emperour. The other Princes, Prelates, Counts, and Barons, are a degree lower than the Electors; the Eccleſiaſticks taking the right hand, and the Seculars the left.

P. *There is nothing to be ſeen ſo illuſtrious as thoſe Aſſemblies; and I fancy that he who hath the honour to ſpeak at the firſt opening of them, ſays very handſom things.*

G. When every one hath taken his place, one of

of the Emperours Counſellors, or a Prince, on whom that charge is impoſed, riſes up, ſalutes the Company, and in an excellent diſcourſe gives thanks to all the Aſſembly, for that in compliance with the Emperours Order, all thoſe Princes and Lords have freely and chearfully reſorted to that place. After which, his Majeſty continuing the Speech, deſires the Aſſembly in few words that they would contribute with all their might, ſo as their Country may receive the fruit expected from them. That being done, a Secretary reads the Propoſition, which uſually contains no more than the points which the Emperour touched in his ſummons of calling the Eſtates together. After that is read, the Electors, Princes, and Ambaſſadors riſe up, and having conferred together a very little while, one of the company anſwers the Emperour in the name of all the reſt, that by the propoſition even now made unto them, they underſtand the importance of the affairs which obliged his Majeſty to call the Aſſembly together; that they know he hath always had, and ſtill hath a very particular care of the publick good, for which they moſt humbly thank him, aſſuring him they will do all that lies in their power for the advantage of the State; and to the end they may more maturely deliberate, they beſeech his Majeſty to cauſe a Copy of the Propoſition to be delivered to them, and to take their perſons and fortunes under the ſhadow of his protection. The Emperour having heard that diſcourſe, gives com-

mand that the Propoſition be communicated to them all, exhorts them to give their advice upon every point, and promiſes them his favour and affection. Which being done, his Majeſty goes back again to his Lodging in the ſame Order as he came.

P. *They ſay that in thoſe Diets there is more time ſpent in regulating of places, than in deliberating upon buſineſs; that ſeldom any thing is reſolved there, and that one Diet always begets another.*

G. In *Germany* as well as in other places, one equal ſubmits not to another but againſt his will; and the Emperour doth not willingly decide thoſe controverſies, where the ſentence cannot but be diſpleaſing to one of the parties. Now becauſe the taking of places is not regulated in every reſpect, nor perchance will ever be, there ariſeth always ſome ſtop to affairs; which would not happen, if every one were of *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg* his humour, who upon a certain occaſion, where much time was loſt in thoſe vanities, ſaid that they ſhould put him behind the door, ſo they concluded that for which they came together. As to the other branch of your objection, they do rarely reſolve any buſineſs, becauſe it is hard to reduce many heads and different intereſts unto one and the ſame opinion.

P. *It were well that every one ſhould know his place, or be leſs concerned for it; but ſince that cannot be, we muſt let thoſe abuſes take their courſe.*

courſe. Tell me now how they ſit when they give their ſuffrages.

G. The Eſtates of the Empire having had ſome time to conſult among themſelves, the Elector of *Mentz* ſends a note to him of *Saxony*, and he to the Vice-Marſhal of the Empire, requiring him to give advertiſement unto all whom it may concern, to repair the next day unto the place appointed, at ſuch an hour in the Forenoon: Which Order the Vice-Marſhal obeys. The Eſtates having received ſuch notice, meet together every one in their own Claſſe, whereof there are three: The firſt is that of the Electors; the ſecond, that of the Princes as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular, of the Abbots, Counts, and Barons; the third, of the Imperial or Immediate Cities. The Electors being met together, he of *Mentz* ſits at the apper end, thoſe of *Trier* and *Collen* on his right and left hand by turns; they of *Bavaria* and *Brandenbourg* alwayes on the right, and the *Saxon* and *Palatine* alwayes on the left hand.

P. *As far as I perceive, the Electors know their places; do not other Princes and Lords know theirs as well?*

G. The Golden Bull aſſigns a certain place to each Elector; but it is not ſo with the other Lords, no nor with the Imperial Cities, which have alwayes ſome proteſtation to make againſt the wrong they pretend to be done them. The ſecond Claſſe is diſtinguiſht into two Benches: Upon the firſt ſit the Archbiſhops, Biſhops,

Abbots, and Abbeſſes, the Grand Maſter of the Teutonick Order, the Archdukes, and the Duke of *Burgundy*; upon the ſecond are placed all the Secular Princes, Counts, and Barons, that have right to ſit in thoſe Aſſemblies. As to thoſe of the firſt Bench; the Duke of *Burgundy* ſeldom ſends thither; the Houſe of *Auſtria* take their turns of precedence with the Archbiſhop of *Saltzbourg*, who is now the only man left of that quality that ſits in the Diets; and the Grand Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order precedes all the Biſhops: And further than this, I do not know what Order the Biſhops and the Abbots obſerve in their Seſſion. As to the Secular Princes, the younger Sons of the Electoral Houſes precede the other Princes, whoſe manner of ſitting hath been ſufficiently declared already. The third Claſſe is that of the Cities, which are alſo diſtinguiſht into two Benches; the Deputy of *Collen* holds the firſt rank amongſt the Cities of the *Rhine*, and he of *Ratisbon* amongſt thoſe of *Swaben*.

P. *I can give a near gueſs of the order obſerved by the Princes in taking their places; and would now underſtand how they give their voices.*

G. In the firſt Claſſe the Elector of *Mentz* takes the voices, proceeding after this manner: He firſt asks the Elector of *Trier* his opinion, and then him of *Collen*, in the third place of the Duke of *Bavaria*, then of *Saxony*, after of *Brandenbourg*, and laſtly, of the Count Palatine.

tine. After all which, the Elector of *Saxony* asks him of *Mentz* his ſuffrage, which is of great importance, becauſe being the laſt, he can ſway the Balance to which ſide he thinks good.

P. *The Electors have every one a voice in the deliberations: Have other Princes and Lords the like?*

G. In the ſecond Claſſe, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and Abbeſſes that bear the quality of Princes, the Grand Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order, and the Secular Princes, have for every perſon one or more voices; the other Prelates have two voices amongſt them all, and the Counts with the Barons as many. I ſay there are ſome Princes that have more than one voice, becauſe it happens that one Prince hath more than one Principality, and then he hath as many voices as Immediate Lordſhips to which that right is annext. For example, the King of *Sweden* hath a voice for *Bremen*, for *Verden*, and for *Pomerania* reſpectively; as alſo the Elector of *Brandenbourg* for the ſame *Pomerania*, and for the Principalities of *Halberſtad* and *Minden*. If there were but one Duke of *Brunſwick*, he would have four voices; and one Duke of *Saxony* would have above five or ſix.

P. *I think I am skilful enough in this point: Let us proceed to the ſuffrage of the Cities.*

G. We have ſeen before, that the third Claſſe is diſtinguiſht into two Benches: The firſt con-

tains all the Free Cities of the *Rhine*, *Alſatia*, *Landfortey*, *Haguenau*, *Wetteravia*, *Saxony*, and *Thuringia*; the other contains all the other Free Cities of *Germany*. The City wherein the general Aſſembly is held, hath the *Directory*, that is, the Deputy of that City is ſeated near a Table with ſome Senators, and a Regiſter or Clerk of each Bench, and gathers the voices, asking the opinion firſt of the Deputy of *Collen*, then of him of *Ratisbon*; afterwards he returns to the Bench of the *Rhine*, and ſo to that of *Swaben*, continuing in that manner till he hath done. By which it is eaſily ſeen, that there is not the meaneſt City, but hath a voice amongſt the Cities, if it have right to ſit amongſt them; but they have but two voices for them all together in the Body of the Empire repreſented compendiouſly in the Diets.

P. *What affairs are treated on in thoſe Aſſemblies?*

G. The matters handled in the Diets are all very important, regarding Religion or the Civil Government; as may be ſeen in the *Receſſe* of the Empire, which contains the reſolutions taken in the general Aſſemblies, and the Ordinances therein made. Here you are to take notice, that in the Aſſemblies plurality of voices is uſually followed in all ſorts of buſineſs; but becauſe the Catholicks taken in groſs are in greater number and have more voices than the Proteſtants, it hath been thought neceſſary for the peace of the Empire, to take an equal num-

ber

ber of perſons, when they would decide any thing in matter of Religion, and where ſcruple of Conſcience might ſtrain too hard upon Juſtice. Which is very uſeful in a Countrey where two Religions are permitted, and ſpecially where the parties are almoſt equal.

P. *Having diſcourſed of the time, the place, and the order of Diets, as alſo of the perſons that call them, and of thoſe that ought to meet there, and of the matters there treated on; I pray tell me how the Concluſions are made.*

G. The Concluſion of the Diets is taken as followeth: The Electors having pitched upon a Concluſion amongſt them, ſend it to the Colledge of the Princes, who approve or reject it, and that either in whole or in part, and ſend back their opinion to the ſaid Electors. Upon this opinion of the Princes the Electors deliberate again, and return their deliberation to the Princes, deſiring them to weigh their reaſons: if they reſt ſatisfied therewith, the buſineſs is done; but if they perſiſt in a contrary opinion, an Appeal is made to the Deputies of the Cities, who ſometimes adhere to the opinion of the Electors, and ſometimes to that of the Princes; and when they alſo diſſent from both the other Claſſes (as oftentimes they do) they propoſe new Concluſions, to which the Electors and the Princes make anſwer, endeavouring to draw them unto their opinion. Theſe contrarieties are very often longer than were needful, and then the Emperour exhorts them all to agree,

and

and in all things to prefer the publick before their own private Intereſt. Such exhortation doth oftentimes prevail ſo far, that every one abates a little of his opinion, and comes to an agreement in the whole or in part; and when they conceive that things are brought to as good terms as they can expect, they ſend them to his Majeſty for his approbation. From this difficulty of bringing perſons to be of one mind, whoſe intereſts and deſires are ſo different, proceeds that ordinary ſaying, That one Diet is the Mother of another, and from thence alſo come thoſe Aſſemblies of *Deputation* which we have briefly touched before.

P. *You forgot at that time to tell me who they are that uſe to ſit in the Aſſemblies of Deputation.*

G. There were anciently called thither all the Electors (except the King of *Bohemia*) the Archduke of *Auſtria*, the Biſhops of *Wirsbourg* and *Munſter*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Abbots of *Weingardt* and *Ochſenhauſen*, the Count of *Furſtemberg*, and the Cities of *Collen* and *Nuremberg*; At this preſent, beſides thoſe above named, there are alſo called the Directors of the Circles of *Swaben* and *Burgundy*, the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Pomerania*, and the Landgrave of *Heſſe*. In theſe Aſſemblies the Emperours Deputy makes the Propoſition to the reſt, who have every man one voice; but when they are voting upon a Concluſion, all the Electors together have but one voice, and all the other Deputies another.

P. *I am well ſatisfied in this point, but your preceding diſcourſe having informed me, that opinions in the Diets are oftentimes ſtiffly and obſtinately held on both ſides, hath left me in a doubt which obligeth me to ask you, whether in caſe the Eſtates cannot agree, the Emperour ſhould have the power to reſolve matters, and decide the controverted difficulties according to his own will.*

G. You throw me into a field where Writers fence to the right and to the left, all of them bringing probable reaſons on their ſide. Excuſe me (if you pleaſe) from examining them; for I am of opinion for my own part, that Concluſions ought to proceed by the conſent of the Emperour and the Eſtates together, and that neither the Emperour nor the Eſtates can conclude any thing alone: Nevertheleſs in your caſe, ſubmiſſion ſhould be given to the Emperours judgement; becauſe the obſtinacy of the Eſtates might occaſion dangerous factions, faction Civil Wars, and Civil War the univerſal ruine of the Empire. And moreover, it is to be thought that the Emperour being as a common Father to the Princes and the Eſtates, hath as great a care of their good as of his own.

P. *I do confeſs, that in that caſe obedience ſhould be yielded to the Emperours judgement, and that ſober and rational men ſhould alwayes chuſe rather to quit a little of their priviledges and immunities, than to kindle a flame in their native Countrey. Let us ſee what is done when the Concluſions are taken.* G. When

G. When the Aſſembly is come to an agreement, and the Head hath prevailed upon the Members, or the Members brought the Head to conſent unto their opinion, the reſolutions are ſet down in writing, and ſigned before they be publiſhed. Heretofore the Emperour alone ſigned them, or in his abſence the King of the *Romans*; afterwards there was added thereunto the Sign and Seal of two Electors, two Princes, one Abbot, one Count, and the Deputy of the City where the Aſſembly was held. At this time the ſigning is as followeth: The *Receſſe*, that is to ſay, the Act being written in parchment, the Emperours Seal is applied below upon two ſmall ſilken cords joyned together, which are then parted in two again to the right ſide and to the left; upon the right-ſide cord there is impreſſed the Elector of *Mentz* his Seal, if he be preſent, or in his abſence one of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors; below that, the Seal of the firſt Eccleſiaſtical Prince there preſent, and of one of the Prelates in the third place: On the left ſide of the Imperial Seal the firſt Secular Elector there preſent puts his, juſt over againſt that of the Elector of *Mentz*; then the Duke of *Bavaria*, or in his abſence the moſt eminent Secular Prince then preſent; and in the third place a Count of *Wetteravia* or of *Swaben* by turns: Laſtly, the two cords are cloſed again, and faſtned with the Seal of the City where the Aſſembly is kept. When that is done, the Elector of *Mentz* reads it openly,

penly, and then all the Princes and Lords wait upon the Emperour to his Lodging.

P. *Are all theſe formalities abſolutely neceſſary?*

G. They are all ſo neceſſary, that without them the *Receſſe* or Act would not have the power of a Law, nor oblige any one to the obſervation of it. But I ſhould have told you, that two Originals are drawn, Signed and Sealed in the ſame manner; one of which is laid up in the Chancery of the Empire, whereof the Elector of *Mentz* hath the cuſtody, and the other in the Chancery of the Emperour: There is alſo a Copy ſent to the Chamber of *Spire*. Here you muſt take notice, that theſe Acts are framed and written in the *German* Tongue, to the end that all the Subjects of the Empire may underſtand them; neither can they be in any other Language, by an Edict which the Emperour *Rodolph* made to that purpoſe in the year, 1274.

The end of the Ninth Dialogue.

DIAL.

DIALOGUE X.

In what condition the Empire was when the Peace was concluded at Munſter, 1648. *And of the Golden Bull.*

P. *When the unwelcome news of the Emperour* Ferdinand *III. his deplorable death had ſounded in the ears of all* Germany, *it ſtruck a ſenſible ſorrow upon the hearts of all thoſe that love peace, which he had procured for us, and fear the diſorders which uſually happen in the time of an* Interregnum. *I am one of that number; and that fear carrying my thoughts back to the ſad and calamitous times of his Reign, I deſire you to tell me ſomething of it.*

G. Ferdinand III. Son to *Ferdinand* II. Nephew to *Charles* Archduke of *Gratz*, and great Nephew to the Emperour *Ferdinand* I. being born the 13. of *July* 1608. was placed upon the Throne of *Hungary* in the year 1625. and two years after, upon that of *Bohemia*. Then having given proof of his valour, prudence, and piety, he was choſen King of the *Romans* at *Ratisbon* in the year 1636. and on the 9. of *July* 1637. when his Father dyed, he took the Reins of the Empire into his hand, and was effectually Emperour, though his Enemies refuſed

ſed to give him the title, till the beginning of the Treaty of Peace which was concluded at *Munſter* the 24. of *October* 1648. That Prince having enjoyed but little health, and leſs quietneſs upon earth, entred into the fruition of Eternal reſt in Heaven the ſecond of *April* in the year 1657. which was the 20. of his Reign, and the 49. of his Age.

P. *The deceaſe of that pious Prince was the innocent cauſe of the diſpute which is at this day between the Electors of* Bavaria *and Palatine, the firſt pretending that the Vicarſhip of the Empire is inſeparably annext to his Electorſhip, and the other, to the poſſeſſion of the Lower Palatinate: And I remember I have heard you ſay, that* Frederick *V. Father of this Palatine accepted the Crown of* Bohemia, *which* Charles Emanuel *Duke of* Savoy, Bethlelem Gabor *Prince of* Tranſylvania, John George *Elector of* Saxony, *and* Maximilian *Duke of* Bavaria, *had juſtly refuſed, when the* Bohemians *deſirous of novelty rejected their King; out of which temerarious engagement grew that War which hath afflicted our Countrey for a long time. Now being I hold it more neceſſary to know the condition wherein* Germany *was at the beginning and end of our troubles, than to learn in what ſtate* Rome *was at the time when* Julius Cæſar *broke and diſſolved the Triumvirate; I pray tell me what you know of it.*

G. It is good to know ancient Hiſtories, but much better not to be ignorant in the modern.

I therefore commend your curioſity, and for the ſatisfaction thereof ſhall tell you, it is worth your obſervation, that the peace of many years had filled *Germany* with riches, debauchery, and evil humours, which could not let Great Men be quiet in the enjoyment of their ſuper-abundant happineſs. I do not know whether it be, that our nature is alwayes longing for new things, or that God uſually puniſhes our exceſſes, even in this life: But ſo it was, that the Head and principal Members of the Empire entred into a miſunderſtanding and diſtruſt of one another; while the firſt endeavouring to enlarge his authority, found himſelf in danger to loſe it; and the latter deſiring to preſerve their priviledges, filled their States with miſery, deſolation and infinite mortalities.

P. *Some think that the Houſe of* Auſtria *being arrived to a formidable greatneſs, projected deſigns proportioned to its ſtrength, and would have made it ſelf abſolute as well in* Germany, *as in its Eſtates of* Spain *and* Italy; *the apprehenſion whereof poſſeſſing our Nation, made it reſolve upon the dangerouſeſt way of preſerving it ſelf, which is, to call in Strangers.*

G. As in eating, one bit whets the ſtomach for another, ſo it is in rule and Government, where every addition creates a deſire of enlargement. Yet I do not believe the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which is naturally pious and juſt, had every a deſign to enrich it ſelf out of the ſpoils of another; but the affection it bears to the Religion

gion of *Rome* doth eaſily perſwade me, that it would willingly have leaped over any other conſideration, to ſee the Proteſtants under the yoke of the Pope.

P. *Do you think, that the zeal of Religion which is remarked in thoſe Princes, was the cauſe of our Civil Wars?*

G. It is not impoſſible but that zeal might have carried the pious diſpoſition of *Ferdinand* II. upon ſome enterprize which might elaſh with that liberty of Religion which was tolerated by the Edicts of his Predeceſſors; and if you add thereunto, with what eaſe he diſſipated the dreadful Forces which *Frederick* V. Elector Palatine, *Bethlehem Gabor*, and his other Confederates had drawn together, you will make no further doubt, but that his good ſucceſs inflamed and heightned that zeal of his; and that the ſame great Prince, believing his victories to be viſible evidences that God called him to humble and bring down every thing that did not acknowledge the See of *Rome*, would have endeavoured to force conſciences, and make *Rome* to be reverenced in every place where his Scepter was obeyed.

P. Malvezzi *pretending to ſhow that the Houſe of* Auſtria *took up Arms only in its own defence, ſays that the greateſt part of the world conſpired its ruine in the year* 1625.

G. That Marquiſs deſiring to raiſe beyond all compariſon the merit of *Don Gaſpar de Guſman*, Count of *Olivares*, and Duke of Saint

Lucar, favorite to *Philip* IV. King of *Spain*, ſays that by vertue of a League made at *Avignon*, *Europe* and *Africa* laid their heads and joyned their hands together againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and that the felicity and prudence of that Favourite was ſuch, that the King his Maſter remained victorious every where: For, ſays he, when it was reſolved that the *Hollanders* ſhould ſet upon *Braſile*, the Armies of *France* and *Savoy* ſhould aſſault *Genoa*, the King of *England* ſhould ſend a Fleet to *Cadiz*, the King of *Denmark*, with the Proteſtants of *Germany* ſhould trouble the Empire, *Venice* ſhould aſſiſt the Duke of *Savoy* with money, and the *Griſons* with money and ammunition, to enable them to enter into the *Valteline*; that means ſhould be uſed to make peace between the *Turk* and the *Perſian*, to the end the firſt ſhould invade *Germany* through *Hungary*, and *Bethlehem Gabor* through *Tranſylvania*; that the *Hollanders* ſhould furniſh Canon and Canoneers to the Moors of *Africa* to beſiege *Mamora* and *Larache*: Yet that whirlwind was ſcattered by the breath of God, by the prudence of the Catholick King, and by the counſel of the Conde Duke; for that Lord ſent a Fleet to *Braſile*, which recovered the Bay of *Todos los Santos* that the *Hollanders* had taken; *Genoa* and the *Valteline* were relieved by two Armies, which reſcued the firſt when it was brought to the laſt gaſp, and preſerved the Catholick Religion in the ſecond; the Engliſh

liſh were forced to let *Cadiz* be quiet, after they had loſt 5000. men there; the *Hollanders* loſt *Breda*, the *Africans* were repelled from *Mamora* and *Larache* with notable loſs; and after the King of *Denmark* was beaten at the Battel of *Lutter*, and many other encounters, he was finally ſhut up into a corner within his Iſles.

P. *It is true, that* Chriſtian *IV. King of* Denmark *did his buſineſs but ill in* Germany; *and that after the dejeat of* Frederick *V. Elector Palatine, of* Charles *Count of* Mansfeld, *of* Chriſtian *of* Brunſwick *Biſhop of* Halberſtadt, *of* George Frederick *Marquiſs of* Dourlach, *and of that King, the Emperour was at a high point of proſperity and power.*

G. After all thoſe victories the greateſt part of the World thought *Ferdinand* II. unconquerable, as well as he had been unconquered before. Now all *Europe* looking with an evil eye upon the too flouriſhing condition of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and the Emperour endeavouring to re-plant the Monks in their Cloyſters from which they had been long excluded, and it may be to force all the Members of the Empire to go to Maſs; *Guſtavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, animated with the deſire, or at leaſt with the pretenſe of maintaining the Proteſtant Religion; and *Lewis* XIII. King of *France*, fearing that the oppreſſion of *Germany* might bring both the Empire and *Europe* into ſlavery; they confederated with the States

of *Holland* and ſome *German* Princes. So the Emperour had his hands full, on one ſide with the valiánteſt Prince that ever wore Sword for many years paſt, and on the other the wiſeſt Cardinal that ever was honoured with the Purple: And the *Ferdinand* knew that he had not faſtened and ſecured the inſtability of Fortunes wheel.

P. Hercules *had not been ſtrong enough to reſiſt ſo many powerful enemies; then it is no marvel, if both the counſel and courage of the Emperour were ſhaken.*

G. The Emperour was not alone to bear that ſhock: For having honoured *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria* with the Dignity of *Frederick* V. Elector Palatine, he found him ready to follow his fortune, and ſerve him with all the ſtrength of his mind, body and eſtates: *Ferdinand* Elector of *Collen*, Brother to *Maximilian* did the ſame; and the Duke of *Lorraine* forgeting his own Intereſt, embraced that of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; the Prelates and ſome other Princes of the Empire did the like, and entred into a Confederacy for that purpoſe.

P. *Thoſe were ſtrong parties indeed; eſpecially being amongſt Nations that do not eaſily take Arms, and when they are once taken, do more hardly lay them down.*

G. When the Forces of two Enemies are equal, if piety employ them to preſerve liberty of Conſcience, or vain-glory to get more Crowns, they produce ſad and diſmal effects, and

and bring deſtruction upon many Provinces. And ſo it hapned here, where love to Religion having united the Proteſtants of *Germany* to the King of *Sweden*, the current of his proſperities was ſo great and ſo ſudden, that if death had not put a ſtop to his victories, without doubt his beſt friends would have had cauſe to entertain both jealouſie and fear of him. But when that *Mars* had ſhot like thunder from the four corners, and through the midſt of the Empire, ſo that neither powerful Armies, deep Rivers, thick Foreſts, nor impregnable Forts could ſtop the Torrent of his good ſucceſs; he was ſlain at laſt the ſixth of *November* 1632. That death did ſomewhat ſlacken thoſe unparalleled proſperities; but a little after, the Generals that ſucceeded him, being aſſiſted with the counſel and good inſtructions of Cardinal *Richelieu*, and with the Treaſure of *France*, laid the foundations of a longer and bloodier War: Which obliged the Elector of *Saxony* and ſome other Princes to change Intereſt, and endeavour to keep up the greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. So the Emperour being ſuppoted by the Catholick King, ſome Electors and other Potentates of *Germany* and *Italy*, and the *Swedes* aſſiſted by the Forces of *France*, *Holland*, and ſome Proteſtant Princes; the match became ſo equal, that the War held on, ſometimes with gain, ſometimes with loſs, from the year 1630. till 1648.

P. *It is ſaid that the laſt War of* Germany

continued 30 years without intermiſſion.

G. It is true, that the *Bohemians* being perſwaded that the Emperour *Matthias* derogated from their priviledges and the Liberty of their Religion, when he gave judgment for the Catholicks in the caſe concerning ſome Churches which the Proteſtants had built at *Brunaw* and *Cloſtergrab*, conceived ſtrange deſigns of revenge, and truſting to their own Forces, and thoſe of their Confederates, they threw the principal Officers of the Realm headlong down from a Tower, created a new King, and took the field ſo ſuddenly, that *Ferdinand* II. their lawful King, and new Emperour, had cauſe to ſay, that Crowns have as much ſharpneſs from their thorns, as luſtre from their precious ſtones. But all that the Elector Palatine, the Counts *de la Tour* and *Mansfeld*, the Marquiſs of *Dourlach*, and the King of *Denmark* attempted, did but ſerve to augment and improve the Forces, glory, and confidence of the Emperour. I count here only from the King of *Swedens* entring into *Germany* till the Peace, in which time there were fought within the Empire ſeven pitcht Battels, fourteen exceeding bloody Fights, and divers others of leſs note, which have reduced our Countrey unto ſo miſerable a condition, that one can hardly find a whole unruined houſe in the *Campania*, nor one Province throughout all the Empire that hath half ſo much people in it, as it had before the laſt troubles.

P. *Famine*

P. *Famine and Plague, thoſe uſual attendants of War, came alſo into play, and rifled a world of people. But ſince the relation of paſt evils is pleaſant to thoſe that have gone through them, it will not be troubleſome to you to tell me, at what time, in what place, and by whom thoſe Battels and Combats were fought, and who had the better or the worſe in them.*

G. The firſt Battel was given at *Leipſick* in *Miſnia*, between *Guſtavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden* of glorious memory, on the one part, and the Imperaliſts with their Confederates under the command of Count *Tilly* on the other, wherein the *Swedes* got the victory *September* 7. 1631. The ſecond was fought at *Lutzen* not far from *Leipſick*, *November* 6. 1632. between the *Swedes* having their King for *Generaliſſimo*, and the Imperial Army commanded by *Albert Walleſtein* Duke of *Fridland*. In that Battel the *Swedes* had the victory by the reſolution of *Bernard* Duke of *Saxony*, and their other Generals, but it coſt them their King, who was the *Cæſar* of our age; and the Emperour on his ſide loſt the flower of his Souldiers, and the *Achilles* of *Germany*, I mean the incomparable *Godfrey* Count of *Papenheim*.

P. *That King, whoſe valour was beyond all example, ought not to dye but triumphing; and* Papenheim *could not fall but in the company of ſo great a Prince: But it is a thing very extraordinary, that an Army ſhould remain victorious, where the Commander in chief was ſlain in the*

very beginning of the Fight; and we hear but of few Princes that have triumphed in their death. Paſs we on to the other Battels.

G. The third was at *Hamelen*, *July* 28. 1663. between the *Swedes*, *Heſſians*, and *Lunebourgers*, commanded by *George* Duke of *Lunebourg* General of the Circle of Lower *Saxony*, and the Imperialiſts under the conduct of the Counts of *Merode* and *Grandsfeld*; where the latter were worſted. The fourth, which was the firſt wherein the Emperour had the victory, and was one of the bloodieſt that had been ſeen in 30. years before, dyed with generous blood the Plains of *Nortlinguen* an Imperial City of *Swaben*, *September* 6. 1634. *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary*, who afterwards was Emperour, commanded his Fathers Army; and being ſeconded by the Troops and perſon of *Ferdinand* Infante of *Spain*, and of *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, he aſſaulted and vanquiſht *Bernard* Duke of *Weymar* and *Guſtavus Horn* Marſhal of *Sweden*, who commanded the Swediſh Troops. That victory was ſo great, that the Swediſh party had apparently fallen to nothing, if the moſt Chriſtian King had not contributed his cares and forces to ſet them up again.

P. *After that Battel* John de Werdt *took and ſtript above* 50. *Gentlemen or Gentlewomen at the Caſtle of* Neuberg.

G. I have reaſon to remember that misfortune; for though I were at a great diſtance from thence, yet I loſt very much there. The

Fifth

Fifth made *Wiſtock* in the Marquiſate of *Brandenbourg* much ſpoken of. It was there that *John George* I. of that name, Elector of *Saxony*, who had embraced the Imperial Party, and was aſſiſted by General *Hatzfeld*, was beaten by *John Bannier* that Heroical *Swede*, *September* 24. 1636. The ſixth was fought at *Leipſick*, in the ſame place where the firſt was, without any alteration, but that the Imperialiſts took that ground which the *Swedes* had before: but though they changed their place, they did not change their fortune; for *Torſtenſon* overcame the Archduke *Leopold William* and *Octavio Picolomini* Duke of *Amalfi*, renowned Generals of the Imperial Army.

P. *The Catholicks have hitherto won but one of the ſix Battels wherein they engaged with their enemies: Who got the laſt victory?*

G. The *Swedes* that were entred into *Bohemia* under the command of *Leonard Torſtenſon*, did there at a place called *Jancou* ſet upon Count *Hatzfeld* General of the Imperial Forces, and utterly routed him, *Feb.* 24. 1645. Theſe two laſt Battels, together with many combats and taking of Towns, gained an immortal name to that Swediſh General, who was forced to leave the exerciſe of Souldiery before he was forty years old, the Gout having taken away the uſe of all his Limbs, except his Tongue, which I have heard him uſe in accuſing of fortune for having too early deprived him of the means of gaining Crowns of Laurel.

That

That great perſonage having thus made himſelf Illuſtrious by Military actions, *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden* gave him the name with the County of *Ortila*; and Hiſtory bearing the marks of his eminent vertue, will alwayes give him this teſtimony, that he was equal to the greateſt Captains of ancient times.

P. *If the gallant men that commanded and dyed in thoſe Battels, had been employed againſt the Turk, I am perſwaded he had been brought to bow down to the Croſs, and yield obedience to the Chriſtians.*

G. I think ſo too; and it is a wonder that ſo much blood being run out of the veins of our *Germany*, hath not brought her even to her grave. Yet this is not all; ſhe hath loſt more valiant perſons in the Fights which I am going to relate, than in the pitcht Battels. The firſt was that of the King of *Sweden*, who ſet upon the Imperial Army entrenched and commanded by *Walleſtein* at *Furts* upon the Old Mountain, *Auguſt* 24. 1632. and was forced to retreat with very great loſs, giving a remarkable example, that Great men commit great errors, and that the courage of the Lion doth rarely cohabit with the ſubtilty of the Fox; becauſe in ſome, that heat of the heart which is requiſite to make a man undaunted, diſſipates and quickens the coldneſs of the brain; in others, that predominant temper of the brain communicates ſuch a faint and languiſhing quality to the heart as obſtructs and fetters its activity.

The

The ſecond was fought by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenbourg* (when they were confederated with the *Swedes*) againſt the Imperialiſts, who were worſted near *Lignitz* in *Sileſia* *May* 3. 1634. The third was that of *Rheimfeld*, where *Bernard* Duke of *Weymar* beat the Duke of *Savilli* and *John de Werdt*, who commanded the Imperial and *Bavarian* Troops, in ſeveral encounters from the 18. till the 21. of *February*, 1638. The fourth was given at *Wittenvoyer* in *Briſgou*, where the ſame Duke of *Saxon Weymar* did again beat the Imperialiſts and *Bavarians* commanded by the Count of *Gotzen* and the Duke of *Savelli*, *July* 30. 1638. Then that Prince crowned all his former actions, when he ſent ſome Generals priſoners to *Paris*, and obliged all *Europe* to confeſs, that few things were impoſſible for him to do, ſince, notwithſtanding all the power of his Enemies uſed to the contrary, he forced the Virgin City of *Briſac* to ſubmit her ſelf unto his will.

P. *If I be not miſtaken*, *Marquiſs* Virgilio Malvezzi *ſpeaking of the Duke* Bernard *in a little Treatiſe which he made and intituled*, Of the ſucceſſes of the Monarchy of *Spain*, which hapned in the year 1639. *ſays*, *that Prince was more often vanquiſhed than victorious*; *and you ſay*, *that he obtained two great victories in one year.*

G. I never ſaid he was invincible; but I dare confidently affirm, that he was never beaten for want of courage or conduct: And *Malvezzi*

vezzi himself acknowledging that he won more than he lost, doth also confess, that the design which he had to keep in a Body by himself, and to exchange the places he held in *Burgundy* for those of *Colmar*, *Selestadt* and *Benfeld*, thereby to make himself Master of *Strasbourg*, and by the means of that great and wealthy City to maintain a high reputation as long as the War lasted, and to enter upon a Peace with advantage, were great thoughts, but nothing disproportionable to the spirit, fortune, and valour of that excellent Prince. The fifth Combat hapned *April* 4. 1639. near *Kemnitz* in *Misnia*, where *Bannier* the *Swedes* General overcame the Imperialists and *Saxons* commanded by General *Salis*. The sixth was an action of the Archduke *Leopold* and *Picolomini*, more bold than well advised, when they set upon the *Swedes*, *French* and *Lunebourgers* in their Trenches at *Wolfenbottel*, and were beaten back with the loss of their Foot, and the left wing of their Horse, *June* 19. 1641. The seventh signalized Mareshal *Guebriant* in the Archbishoprick of *Collen* near S. *Antony*, where having the conduct of the French Army, he beat and took prisoner Baron *Lamboy* General of the Emperours Confederates, *January* 17. 1642.

P. *After the taking of* Lamboy, *Marshal* Guebriant *was very seasonably backed by* Frederick Henry *of* Nassau *Prince of* Orange.

G. That German *Alexander* did a special piece of service to his Allies at that time, taking

up

up his Quarters between *Rhimberg* and *Orſoy*, to ſuccour the Marſhal in caſe the *Spaniards* ſhould draw towards him. The eighth Combat hapned near *Schweinitz* in *Sileſia*, where *Torſtenſon* ſurpriſed *Francis Albert* Duke of *Saxon-Lawembourg*, General of the Imperialiſts and *Saxons*, who were ſo ſoundly beaten there, that their General remained dead upon the place, *May* 21. 1642. In the ninth there was but little blood ſhed, but a total rout of the French Army, which after the death of Marſhal *Guebriant*, being commanded by Count *Joſias de Rantzau*, was ſurpriſed by the *Bavarian* Forces under the conduct of *Hatzfeld*, and *John de Werdt* at *Dutlinguen* a little Town in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, and nothing was ſaved but a part of the Horſe led by General *Roſe*.

P. *The death of the Count* de Guebriant *occaſioned that defeat; and the loſs of his perſon was valued at no leſs a rate, than that of all his Troops, becauſe of the good ſervices he had, and might ſtill have performed.*

G. That Marſhal was exceedingly beloved by the *German* Troops, being a man of ſingular courage and conduct, and ſo careful of them, that in his time they were alwayes very well paid. The tenth would have ſtrucken the very trees with fear and admiration, if they had had any ſenſe; for *Lewis de Bourbon*, then Duke of *Anguyen* and now Prince of *Conde*, made five aſſaults upon the Bavarian Army entrenched upon

upon a Mountain near *Fribourg* in *Briſgou*, where he ſlew their General *Gaſpar de Mercy* in the year 1644. forced the Enemies Army to quit their Poſte, and afterwards went to take *Philipsbourg* and ſome other places, though he had loſt very much brave Nobility. The Eleventh made *Merkendal* in *Franconia* to be talked of, where Marſhal *Turenne* General of the French Forces was ſurpriſed by *Francis de Mercy* General of the Bavarians, *November* 14. 1645. The loſs nevertheleſs was not ſo great as ſome Writers would perſwade us, if that be true which I have been told upon the place. The Twelfth was fought by the French and Heſſian Armies againſt the Bavarian, wherein the loſs was almoſt equal; but *Francis* Baron *de Mercy* was ſlain there, and the Duke of *Anguyen*, Marſhal *Turenne*, and *Geis* remained Maſters of the Field, and had the ſpoil of the dead, *May* 5. 1646.

P. *It ſeemes there is a kind of fatality in things of this World: here were two Brethren, both Generals of the* Bavarians, *and both ſlain in fight by the Duke of* Anguyen. *It is further remarkable, that the* French *got few or no victories, but they coſt them very much blood.*

G. Ordinarily the *French* would carry all by main force, and think thoſe victories but little honourable that are gotten by ſurprize: Nevertheleſs the Generals that are ſparing of their Souldiers lives, have alwayes been, and are ſtill

ſtill more eſteemed, than they that part with them at ſo cheap a rate. The thirteenth Fight was a ſudden unforeſeen engagement, wherein the Armies of *Sweden* and *France* commanded by the Marſhals *Charles Guſtavus Wrangel*, and *Henry de la Tour* Prince of *Turenne*, both equally reſolute and prudent, having accidentally fallen upon the Imperial and Bavarian Forces under the conduct of *Melander* (otherwiſe called the Count of *Holtzapfel* and *Grounsfeld*) forced them off their ground, and purſued them about two Leagues with great effuſion of blood, which yet had been far greater, if *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg* had not ſtopped that Torrent by a reſolution worthy of his Courage, withſtanding all the Enemies Forces only with two Squadrons of Foot and two Bodies of Horſe, and ſo giving leiſure to thoſe of his Party to rally and recover a place of ſafety after the death of *Melander* General of the Imperialiſts; which action in the opinion of both Parties preſerved *Auſtria* and *Bavaria*. The laſt Combat was fought *June* 4. 1648. near *Grewembrouck* in the Country of *Juliers*, where the Heſſian Army under the conduct of General *Geis* had a great advantage over the Imperial, commanded by Baron *Lamboy*.

P. *I have heard it ſaid by perſons of credit, who had principal command in that Engagement, that* Frederick *Duke of* Wirtemberg *did wonders there.*

G. I know if it had not been for that Prince, the

the Heſſians had been beaten; for their Horſe gave ground; and they had not gotten the day but for that Duke, who commanded the Foot, and both by his example encouraged thoſe that remained in the field, and by his reſolution called back thoſe that were fled. But that was not the only place where Duke *Frederick* of *Wirtemberg* made his courage to be taken notice of. It was he himſelf, that with his Regiment, having the Van in the Fight at St. *Antony*, pulled down the Paliſſades, and made way for the Horſe to paſs, when Marſhal *Guebriant* took Baron *Lamboy* priſoner: So that it may be ſaid, without flattering him, or wronging the other Officers, it was he that got the victory in thoſe two Combats.

P. *I imagine that you ſpeak not here of any but the moſt memorable actions, it being almoſt impoſſible there ſhould have been ſo few engagements of Armies and encounters of Parties in a War wherein all* Europe *was concerned, and where ſtrangers*, French, Spaniards, Swedes, *and* Lorrainers *were mingled with the* Germans, *and plaid their parts for many years together.*

G. You have reaſon; And I confeſs, to write that war would make a great Volume, which is not my intention. Nevertheleſs I ſhall tell you, that *July* 31. 1633. Prince *Chriſtian* Palatine of *Birkenfeld*, having the ſword of *Joſias* Count of *Rantzau* to aſſiſt him, and ſome Swediſh Troops under his command, beat the Lorrainers

Lorrainers near *Pfaffenhoven* in the Lower *Alſatia*, *March.* 2. 1634. the *Rhingrave Otho Lewis*, General of ſome confederate *Swedes*, defeated the Count of *Salme* at *Wateweil* in the upper *Alſatia*: and *October* 7. 1638. Count *Hatzfeld* an Imperialiſt, ſcattered the Troops which *Charles Lewis* Elector Palatine had joyned to ſome *Swedes* near *Blotu* in the County of *Lippe*.

P. *So many Fights and Battels, ſo many takings and deſolations of Cities, and ſo many Mortalities having afflicted and waſted* Germany *for many years continuance; at length the two parties being weary as well of beating as of being beaten, a reſolution of peace was mutually taken. Tell me, I pray, in what condition affairs were when that was concluded.*

G. You have already heard, there was never a Province in the Empire, which by fire and ſword, by plague and famine, had not loſt above half its people, and which was not reduced to extreme miſery: yet to recover the Treaſure of Peace, *Germany* was content to lay down another, and pay the *Swedes* five millions of Gold for the charges of the war; one part whereof was employed to ſatisfie the Souldiery, another to recompence the valour of thoſe that had ſerved well, and the reſt to be diſpoſed in liberalities by their Queen.

P. *Did the French lay down Armes, without being re-imburſed what they ſpent in that War?*

G. That Nation did not consent to the Peace without knowing why and wherefore; but it rather gave, or promised money, than received any: And all its recompence consists in a part of *Alsatia*, and the Fortresses of *Brisac* and *Philipsbourg*; from which *France* reaps more honour than profit, the Province being unable to furnish wherewithal to keep those places, and pay the Civil Officers that should administer Justice there.

P. *I know the most Christian King obliged himself to pay the Archduke of* Inspruck *three Millions of Livres, in case he could prevail with the Catholick King to quit the pretensions he had or might have upon* Alsatia. *But had the Crown of* Sweden *and its Confederates many Troops and places in* Germany, *when the Peace was made?*

G. The Crown of *Sweden* had at that time five Regiments of *Swedish* and *Finland* Horse, four and forty of *German* Horse, and five of Dragoons, which reckoned with some Troops that were in Garrison, amounted all together to 411. Companies. It had also threescore Regiments of Foot, of the same Nations as the former were, to wit, one and twenty of *Swedes* and *Finlanders*, and nine and thirty of *Germans*; but they were not all of like strength: For the five Regiments of *Swedish* and *Finland* Horse had but one and thirty Troops in all; and those of the Foot of the same Nation were of four, five, six, seven, or eight Companies at the most; and of

of the *Germans*, that of the Kings Guards was of Twenty Companies, and thoſe of the higher Officers, nay the greateſt part of the reſt, were of twelve Companies apiece.

P. *By what you ſaid laſt, I perceive* Germany *made War upon* Germany, *and the* Swedes *made uſe of us to overcome our ſelves: Let us ſee whether the* French *did not ſo too.*

G. We are blamed for loving money too much, and the honour of our Nation too little. Now it is certain, that although the *Swedes* have always had Commanders worthy of Empire, and that after their King, *Guſtavus Horn*, *John Bannier*, *Leonard Torſtenſon*, *Charles Guſtavus Wrangel*, *Wittemberg*, and ſome others have equalled or ſurpaſſed the ancient Heroes, ſignalizing their valour in our late Wars; yet they had gone out of the Empire with as much ſhame, and as well beaten as the *Danes* and *Tranſylvanians*, if they had not had Religion for a pretenſe, our bodies for a buckler, and our courages for the inſtruments of their glory. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the *French*: They have had Generals of their Nation who have always performed the duty of wiſe Captains and valiant Souldiers, and have no leſs deſerved the name of Gallant Men, though they have fought with leſs ſucceſs than the *Swedes*; but as to the reſt, the *French* Troops were oftentimes the leaſt part of their Army. The *French* that have commanded in *Germany*, are the Marſhals of *La Force*, *Guebriant*, and *Grammont*,

mont, the Cardinal *de la Valette*, the Dukes of *Longueville* and *Anguyen*, and the Prince of *Turenne*, who had under his command, at the time when the Peace was made, a hundred and nine Cornets of Light Horſe, and ſixteen Companies of Dragoons, in fourteen Regiments, not reckoning two Companies which were in the Lower Palatinate, two in the Biſhoprick of *Spire*, and three in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*. Beſides that Cavallery, the *French* had a hundred and threeſcore Companies in eleven Regiments of Infantry, and ten Companies at *Briſac*, three and forty in *Briſgou*, four in the Biſhoprick of *Strasbourg*, twenty in ſeveral Imperial Cities of the Palatinate and *Alſatia*, fifteen in the Biſhoprick of *Spire*, nine in the Lower Palatinate, thirteen in *Lawinguen*, eleven in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, ſix in *Swaben*, twelve in the Archbiſhoprick of *Mentz*, and three in the Marquiſate of *Baden*; which make in all three hundred and ſix Companies as well *French* as *Germans*.

P. *So far as I perceive, the Confederates had prodigious Forces.*

G. That is not all; the *Amazon* of *Germany*, *Amelia Elizabeth* Landgraveſs of *Heſſe*, who raiſed up her Eſtate when it was beaten as it were down to the ground, and by an unparalleled prudence enlarged the ſtraits ſhe was brought into, and augmented her Forces when ſhe was thought to be overwhelmed with calamities after the death of *William* V. her Husband;

band; had at the concluſion of the Peace eight and fifty Cornets of Horſe in five Regiments, and 166. Companies of Foot in thirteen, without putting into the account fourteen unregimented Companies.

P. *I do not wonder that ſo many Troops conducted by good Heads obliged the Emperour to a diſadvantagious Peace: For I cannot think that his Majeſty and his Allies had ſo many Forces, after they had been worſted in ſeveral encounters.*

G. I do not certainly know the number of the Imperial and Bavarian Troops; but doubtleſs they were very powerful, ſince their Confederate Adverſaries were obliged by the Treaty to reſtore 210. ſtrong places wherein they had Garriſon, and out of which it is probable the whole Empire would hardly have been able to drive them by force.

P. *I know the* Swedes *had Garriſons in* 125. *places of* Germany, *the French in* 46. *and the Heſſians in* 39. *But ſome of the beſt are theirs ſtill.*

G. It is true, that by the Treaty of Peace the Empire agreed to yield unto the moſt Chriſtian King, for him and his Succeſſors, Kings of *France* for ever, the Cities and Biſhopricks of *Mets*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, with *Moyenvic*, *Pignerol*, *Briſac*, the Landgravedom of *Alſatia*, the *Vndgerih*, the Bailywick of *Haguenau* and the Fortreſs of *Philipsbourg:* That by the ſame Treaty the Empire quitted and granted unto

the Queen and Kingdom of *Sweden* all the Hither *Pomerania*, with the Iſland and Principality of *Rugia*, and the Cities of *Stetin*, *Garts*, *Dam*, *Holnau*, the Iſle of *Wollin*, the River of *Oder*, and the Port which it makes by the name of *Friſchehaff*; the Collation of thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Benefices which the Dukes of *Pomerania* heretofore had in the Biſhoprick of *Camin*, and the expectance or Reverſion of that Biſhoprick, nay, of the reſt of *Pomerania*, and even of the new Marquiſate of *Brandenbourg*, in caſe the heirs Male of that Family ſhould happen to fail.

P. *The* Swedes *received five Millions of Gold for the money they diſburſed in that War; and beſides ſuch a conſiderable ſumme*, Pomerania *(which is more worth than* Alſatia*) is left in their hands.*

G. They have not only received that ſumme, and *Pomerania*, but *Wiſmar* alſo a Port of the Baltick Sea, the Fortreſs of *Walfiſch*, the Bailiwick of *Poel* and *Neucloſter*, which heretofore belonged to the Houſe of *Meklebourg*; and which is yet more, the Archbiſhoprick of *Bremen* and Biſhoprick of *Verden* converted into Dutchies, together with the City and Bailywick of *Wilſhauſen*. In all which lands and Principalities the *Swedes* have Soveraign Juſtice, right to erect an Univerſity, and to ſet Impoſts upon all commodities that enter into, go out of, or grow within the Countrey by them conquered and poſſeſſed. So by that Peace the King of *Sweden* hath gotten the names and

and titles of Duke of *Bremen*, *Verden*, and *Pomerania*, Prince of *Rugia*, and Lord of *Wiſmar*.

P. *You told me before, that during the laſt War the* Swedes *had more Forces in* Germany *than the French; and I ſee now, they have reaped much more profit: make me underſtand what ſatisfaction the Heroical Lady of* Heſſe *received.*

G. That Princeſs which reigned in the hearts of all thoſe that have had the honour to ſpeak with her, had too well ſerved the victorious Party to remain without ſatisfaction. It was therefore accorded unto her, for her ſelf, her Son *William*, and their Succeſſors for ever, that beſides the general clauſe of the Article *Tandem omnes*, they ſhould enjoy the Abbey of *Hirchfeld*, with all its appurtenances, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular, as well without as within the Territory of the ſaid Abbey; and the right, Lordſhips, and demeſnes of the Cities and Bailywicks of *Schaumbourg*, *Bukembourg*, *Saxenhaguen* and *Stathaguen*, which heretofore belonged to the Biſhoprick of *Minden*, and 600000. Crowns in money payable at *Caſſel* within nine months after the publication of the Peace. And for an accompliſhment and full meaſure of ſatisfaction, the Aſſembly of *Munſter* ratified the tranſaction between the two Branches of *Caſſel* and *Darmſtadt* made by the mediation of *Erneſt* Duke of *Saxon-Gotta*, *April* 14. 1649. and the right of Primogeniture in thoſe two Branches.

P. *Thoſe ſatisfactions were (without queſtion) of very hard digeſtion to the contrary party; but a good Peace cannot be bought too dear.*

G. The Emperour loſt nothing; for by giving up his right in *Alſatia*, he made the Kingdom of *Bohemia* Hereditary to his Houſe: But the Spaniards will not eaſily be able to comfort themſelves for that loſs, becauſe if *Alſatia* and *Lorraine* remain in the hands of the *French*, it will be impoſſible for them to joyn their Forces of *Italy* with thoſe of the Low Countreys, unleſs they tranſport them by Sea with great expenſe and greater danger, or through the Territories of others; which cannot be done, without buying the friendſhip of thoſe that are not willing to ſee the formidable forces of *Spain* united: And from hence grows a great advantage to the *French* by that Treaty.

P. *Methinks I am now ſufficiently inſtructed in that which concerns our* Germany: *But having heard nothing hitherto of the Golden Bull, except ſome words which you have ſcattered here and there, I would gladly hear you diſcourſe more amply of it.*

G. That Bull is the Diamond Nail which holds together theſe remainders of the Empire, and keeps them from diſſolution, by the wholeſome Ordinances which it contains, touching the time, the place, and the perſons which ought to concur to the Election of the Emperour; the number, immunities, and prehemi-

heminencies of the Electors; the integrity, candor, and probity which they ought to uſe in chuſing the firſt Prince of Chriſtendom; the order they ought to keep in their Aſſemblies, as well while they accompany the Emperour, as in their ſeats and places; and to cut off all occaſion of diſpute between the Princes of the Electoral Houſes, the Emperour by that Edict ſets down and preſcribes the order they are to obſerve in their ſucceſſions, who ought to be Tutor and Guardian of their Sons during their Minority, and at what age they are to come out of Wardſhip. Now becauſe Elective Eſtates have no ſymptom more dangerous, than while they lie under an *Interregnum*, the Bull provides a remedy for that inconvenience, ordaining that the Electors Palatine and of *Saxony* ſhall be his Majeſties perpetual Vicars, and ſhall have the ſame power after his death, or in his abſence, that the Emperour had while he was living and preſent. Laſtly that Bull contains the office of every Elector at the Coronations, Proceſſions, and publick Feaſts of the Emperour.

P. *Methinks in that Bull the Emperour* Charles *IV. hath had more care of the Electors, than of all the Empire beſides.*

G. The Electors are the principal Pillars of our State; and the Emperour thinking the deſtruction of the Empire might follow upon their diſſenſion, his ſpecial aim was to keep them united together by his Ordinance, and to provide

provide for the time to come that there ſhould be no diſorder in the Election of the Emperour, nor in the Succeſſion of the Princes Electors; that the ſeptenary number ſhould continue for ever, as moſt proper for an action of ſo great importance.

P. *Is that Bull of any bigneſs?*

G. It is a little book, the Original whereof being written in parchment, contains 24. leaves, and 30. Chapters, of which the 23. firſt were publiſhed at *Nuremberg* the 10. of *January*, 1356. and the other ſeven at *Metz* on Chriſtmas day in the ſame year, by the full power of his Majeſty, in the preſence and with the conſent of the moſt part of the Princes, Lords, and other Eſtates of the Empire, the Emperour wearing the Imperial Cloak, and having the Crown upon his head, the Scepter in one hand, and the Ball of the Empire in the other.

P. *Why is that little Book called* The Golden Bull?

G. The Letters Patents of Emperours, Popes, and ſome other great Princes are called *Bulls*, by reaſon of the ſeal which gives them their ſtrength and validity. Thoſe *Bulls* or Seals are not alwayes of the ſame matter, nor of the ſame bigneſs; but according to the importance of the Letters the Seal is greater or leſs, and of different wax or metal. The ordinary Letters are ſealed with an impreſſion made upon wax, the colour and bigneſs whereof encreaſeth either

ther the reſpect to, or the honour of thoſe perſons to whom they are directed; and thoſe that contain Edicts, are ſealed with Lead, Silver or Gold, according to the importance of the Laws which the Prince publiſhes. From hence it was, that this perpetual and irrevocable Edict, containing the fundamental Laws of the Empire, ought to be ſealed with his Majeſties great ſeal, and not upon wax, Lead, or Silver, but upon Gold, to ſhow that as that metal is incorruptible, and the moſt excellent of all; ſo the matters contained in that Bull, being the principal Laws of the Empire, ſhould be preſerved there without alteration.

P. *Tell me more particularly of what faſhion that Bull is.*

G. The Bull which hangs at the Parchment book which we laſt mentioned, is a great round ſeal of pure Gold, faſtened unto ſmall cords of yellow and red Silk, on one ſide whereof there is the Portraiture of the Emperour *Charles* IV. ſeated upon his Throne, with the Crown on his head, the Scepter in one hand, and the Ball in the other, having at his right hand the Imperial Arms, and thoſe of *Bohemia* at his left, with this Inſcription round about the Bull, *Carolus quartus, Divinâ favente clementiâ, Romanorum Imperator, ſemper Auguſtus, & Bohemiæ Rex.* On the other ſide of the Bull there is a Caſtle with two Towers, at the bottom and middle whereof there is ſeen a Gate with theſe words, *Aurea Roma*, and theſe in the

the Circumference, *Roma caput mundi, regit Orbis frœna rotundi.*

P. *Thoſe Laws are fortified with a Seal that declares their importance; and I am confident the Emperour will derogate as little from them as he can.*

G. Uſually Laws cannot be abrogated but by thoſe that made them, and for that reaſon I believe, though the Emperour ſhould be deſirous to annul the *Golden Bull*, he would not be permitted ſo to do, becauſe it was publiſhed by the advice, and with the conſent of the Electors, and many other Princes and Eſtates of the Empire, who are to concur to its abrogation. But the Bull is ſo advantagious to the Electors, that they have no reaſon to deſire the ſuppreſſion of it, nor ſo much as give way that any thing in it ſhould be changed or altered.

P. *I do not think the Laws contained in the* Golden Bull *ſhould be totally aboliſhed: yet on the other ſide I do not doubt but ſomething of them may be changed, if the neceſſity of the Empire require it.*

G. It is certain that thoſe Laws will never be wholly abrogated, unleſs the face of the Empire be changed by becoming Hereditary; in which caſe they would all fall of themſelves. As to particularities, it is as certain that ſomething in thoſe Laws may be changed, ſince the Legiſlators have often derogated from them, and even in a matter of great importance, the Septenary number of the Electors having been altered

altered into another leſs convenient by the laſt Treaty of Peace: Beſides, we have elſewhere ſeen, that although the Election of the King of the *Romans* ought to be made at *Francfort* by vertue of that Bull, yet *Ferdinand* I. received that honour at *Wormes*, and other Emperours ſince at other Cities. That Bull doth alſo ordain, that all the Electors ſhould aſſiſt at the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, before they begin the Act of the Election; and yet the Proteſtant Electors are not obliged to be at Church while the Ceremony of the Maſs laſts. From whence it may be concluded, that ſome of the Laws of the *Golden Bull* may be altered and diſpenſed with. But I believe I have entertained you long enough upon things that concern the Empire; and therefore I ſhall proceed no further, but make an end of this Treatiſe, praying the Almighty that by his grace he would enable you to learn from hence how to ſerve your Country well, and me to give you as good an account of the other principal parts of *Europe* as I have done of *Germany*.

THE END.

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Errata.

Page 283. lin. 10. *read* Churfurſten, p. 284. l. 27. *r.* Gebiten, befehlen, p. 303. l. 10. *r.* this, p. 309. l. 24. *r.* ſupported.